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The Official Journal of the American Socielogical Society



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IS SOCIOLOGY AN EXACT SCIENCE?

CHESTER ALEXANDER
Westminster College

THERE appears to be a considerable volume of opinion that sociology is not an exact science. Within the same attitude one also readily senses the view that none of the social sciences is exact, and as if to terminate the consideration of such a unique possibility, some would add that they never can reach such a stage of precision. Since logical thinking is generally quite essential to scientific progress the belief which has just been presented may well be subjected to additional examination.

We might approach the problem by asking what the term "exact" means. Certainly no natural science has completely explored and explained its set of natural phenomena so "exactness" cannot be applied to any scientific discipline in such a manner. The term, if applied in that sense, is only relative, and further, the state of relativity is constantly changing for no field is static at present. Perhaps some sciences are advancing faster than others but if that be true we have no measures at hand to show the differential rates of progress.

It might prove helpful if we were to explore the nature of the term "exact" a little farther. What is the particular meaning it is supposed to have when used in reference to any given science? How exact should or can a science be? It is clear that if any science allows for the discovery of exceptions to

its generally accepted tenets or laws of nature, the term "exact" must be one which allows considerable internal variation.

If half of the hypotheses which have been advanced by any given field of science have been found to hold true, does that make the science "exact"? Would three-fourths be better? Have we any answer to the question at all which scientists would accept? It may be that many of them have never thought of the matter at all, and would see no point in discussing it. Such treatment of the matter might seem to be too precise. Indeed it may be that some would ethnocentrically hold that their own field is the most typical of what an "exact" science should be.

One way of exploring the stability, and hence the exactness of a science is by examining the number of concepts which it has set down. Fairchild writes "No science can have any more precision and exactitude than the words or other symbols such as mathematical or chemical formulae in which it is embodied." To the extent to which this clue promises reward we might give it a little attention. Under Fairchild's editorship more than 2500 words and phrases have been published. This is a fact which indicates that sociology is not lacking in a specific vo-

¹ Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Dictionary of Sociology*. Preface. New York: Philosophical Society, 1944.

cabulary laden with precise meanings. One uses the word "precise" here with caution yet no scientist would state that every concept in his field is incapable of variations in meanings under certain conditions.

Another approach in considering the meaning of the term "exact" is through the nature of its vocabulary. Sociology has broken some new trails by taking words from the common language and has given them concrete meanings. Such terms as culture, caste, character, family, folkways, identification, primary group, sympathy and suggestion all sound so familiar that we may have difficulty in thinking of them as having precise definitions. To the average reader they seem more like old friends whom we have come to appreciate because of what they have meant to us in the past rather than formal terms which bear the dignity of officialdom in a scientific field. They appear to be about as flexible as old shoes, and to lack almost all of that which one might attribute to an "exact" science, yet sociology uses them with quite explicit meanings.

If sociologists had chosen to use the Greek term Ta Sympheronta, or Chremata in place of the more familiar, yet precise word Interests, they might have been given more credit for being "exact." If they had employed the Latin Rationes for Interaction in preference to the Greek He Pros Allelous Chreia many of their learned colleagues would not have known the difference yet the effect of redundant aloofness might have

been greater.

Instead of Human Nature the words Physis Anthropina, or Natura Humana could have been selected. Social Trends might have become Phorai Koinai, or Communes Lationes; Society might have been called He Ton Anthropon Koinonia or Societas Humana; Population would have been Plethos or Summa Hominum, and greater their status might have been in scientific terminology. But the sociologists chose to use the common language as their channel of communication under the belief that an invention is just as significant socially whether it goes by that name, by Aliquid Inventum or by Heurema,

and the same applies to the hundreds of other familiar words which have been shaped and sharpened to serve as tools and instruments for the analysis of human society.

Some of the physical sciences have laboriously sought words in the classical languages and made them bearers of precise ideas. If these words sound austere, isolationist, or scientific, that may simply be due to the fact that the average reader does not know their etymological origins, their original or semantic meanings, how they may have been wrenched apart, syllable from creaking syllable, nor the various shades of meaning which they originally had, for he seeks only their definitions in some specialized dictionary of his own field of science. Sociological terms frequently appear to the this official rigidity because we all know several shades of meaning for each term such as contact, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation, and when we first observe that someone insists on giving them concise meanings in sociology we feel deprived of some of our liberties, and that would be quite true. Nevertheless the social sciences have taken such steps, even though some may raise imperturbable evebrows at such unscientific antics, but the student makes peace with the terms, comes to like them, and finds that his memory is not unduly burdened with verbal antiquities.

We might, with some profit, search for another approach to the problem by starting from the datum that each natural science seeks to formulate the laws of nature which function within its particular area of investigation. A natural law is usually accepted as substantial if it holds true for a satisfying number of experiments. No law is known to be true for every possible experiment since "every possible experiment" can never be performed. The fact that water boils at 212 degrees F. at sea level is exact enough for most of us, yet no one has ever proved that it is true in all possible cases. We accept it after we tire of looking for exceptions. There may actually be none, but we do not hear the leading chemists or physicists making such statements.

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A similar declaration might be taken from sociology—"Slums generate delinquency." Is that a natural law? We see immediately how it could have exceptions, for not all slum dwellers show signs of delinquency, but the statement did not make that assertion at all. How does that differ from the boiling of water? Very little, indeed, for we will agree that all of the samples of H₂O which have been tested, boiled under the conditions given, and not otherwise. On Pike's Peak the boiling does not take place under exactly the same conditions as at sea level, nor will the same conditions prevail when one attempts to boil water in a vacuum.

We should logically allow the same flexibility to the proposition about slums, for under the conditions governing the original decration, in time delinquency will appear. Both cases necessitate definitions, and these are the products of culture, not nature. In both cases we are also dealing with samples, and from these we reason about the universe from which they were taken. If the assertion about slums were to be proved to be true in one hundred experiments would it then be "exact"? If not, how many times would be necessary?

When does one pass the point beyond which "exactness" prevails? Should one envisage a scale on which there are marked off degrees of exactness? Or is it one of those pet inexactitudes which is harbored within a discipline of thinking which bears the label of science?

If we wish to take another approach we might recall that some people have held that sociology is not an exact science, nor can it ever become one, for it deals with human beings who are free to move about, who have wills of their own, and therefore one cannot predict their behavior. Could we make the same statement about birds, fishes or animals? If so, then we recall that we have never heard such a charge being held against Ornithology, Ichthyology or Zoölogy. And what is the reason for this difference? It seems clearly to be that sociology studies human behavior, which includes all of us, and Homo Sapiens is pretty sensitive about

being held under a light. He is not nearly as delicate when it comes to exploring the life secrets of crows, catfish, or kangaroos, but he does not like to view himself under a microscope, in fact it might be a difficult feat to perform with composure.

It may be that people do not care to consider any science as "exact" which is related to human behavior for the wish to be free is the very essence of freedom itself, and to be found subject to the laws of nature would minimize the scope of this desire. Man is the only object in natural creation who has coined the concept of freedom, and in its expression he wishes to apply it according to circumstances most advantageous to himself. Consequently it is much more satisfying for men to think of themselves as special creatures who have a sort of extralegal privilege on earth, subject to no laws which govern such things as flowers, frogs and weeping willows. It is soothing to feel one's self wrapped in a robe of invisibility through which the prying eyes of the scientist shall never pierce. But such thinking belongs in the same category as fear of the doctor, aversion to dentists' offices, and the reticence to being enumerated by the census taker.

Others may boldly declare that sociology is not an exact science because it cannot control its environment, or the human beings who make up its complicated area of investigation, human society. This view is quite acceptable but the same is true of the astronomer. He may count and photograph stars and planets, calculate their orbits, analyze their chemical structures, or even take their temperatures, but he cannot remove them from their environment, or change it. If he could make one stand still, it would no longer be a star. Similarly, we might point out that microbes on cover glasses are not the same harmful little beasts which attack the human organism, nor is a cat on the operating table the same feline that disturbs our neighbors. The difference is each case is that of behavior.

The control of any aspect of natural environment is only possible by the restriction of freedom and limitation of function. Under

such conditions the objects being examined are neither normal nor natural. Notwithstanding these sacrifices, however, we proceed to examine the objects of nature, whatever they may be. This examination usually turns out to be a listing of their characteristics under whatever restraints are imposed but within this confinement we do not see natural microbes, cats, birds or human beings. One might be justified in holding the view that sociology is probably leading the way in the application of most logical scientific methods for it studies its sphere of nature when the objects of its investigation are free, in the process of natural social interaction, and uninhibited by artificial repression.

Since those who maintain that sociology is not an exact science are very amiable and quite serious people, we shall give them every advantage even to the extent of stating more of their contentions. For instance, some are concerned over their belief that sociology does not apply the same orderly techniques that the exact sciences have. There are two answers to this exasperating situation. The first might be illustrated by referring to physics which is one of the most punctilious of disciplines, and possessed of an imposing array of ingenious instruments. Yet few of those people would declare that their machines are flawless in their measurements or performance. The micrometer, as an example, may give measures which are accurate in centimeters to the fourth or fifth decimal place, but they may never be regarded as absolutely correct. These fractions may not be very important in ordinary applied physics but they do represent relative exactness.

The field of chemistry is known to be one of great precision, and yet the leaders in that science would hesitate to place a framework around the known formulae for sulphur compounds by claiming that new ones will never be discovered. The same might be true regarding the chemical composition of chlorophyll. Within its operational arena chemistry has settled down to a very presentable exactness, but by no means a final one.

It is true that the sociologist does not use a laboratory in the traditional way in which that essential institution has been developed in the past. He does, however, have a methodology which is no less accurate than those which involve scales, test tubes, burners, microscopes or micrometers, for all efforts made by every science to reach exactness ultimately use mathematics, even statistics, which happens to be the primary laboratory technique of the social sciences. In as far as mathematics has been developed, we can rely on it as being very exact, even equal to mechanical devices or formulae. Within certain limits both machines and statistics will give accurate measures, but outside of these borders accuracy can only be attained by making finer instruments or using beter methods of calculation.

We agree that the mean birth rate for a country is a useful figure, and that two points beyond the decimal are sufficient for ordinary purposes; yet if we multiply the total population by the two-place birth rate for a given year, and mark off five decimal places, we shall probably find that we are either short or over several hundred babies. The error is explained by the lack of precision in the mathematical calculations used. If the decimal places were increased we should come nearer to the exact number of babies born; in fact we could carry it to another extreme and wind up our figuring with a fraction of a baby on our hands.

We might also recall that the familiar π is only approximately finite. We accept it as 3.14159 if we are satisfied with five decimal places. If we are not, we may designate it as 3.1415926535. Now if we wish to find the area of a circle and multiply the square of the radius by the first figure given we will have a smaller area than if we had used the second one. Which is correct? It is a matter of relative exactness. The significance of this point is that we cannot call mathematics a completely exact field of abstract science for there are several ways of solving some problems. Yet we do not regard mathematics as inexact simply because the tail of π extends so far into the mists.

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There are advocates of exactness who are tempted to point out that sociology cannot predict human behavior. In the case of the individual all will admit that prediction is difficult. It is not easy to say which child will cause his parents worry on a particular day, whether a young man will marry a girl within his home town or from another place, or whether a graduate student will have the stamina to remain at his studies until awarded a Ph.D. These things are hard to foretell accurately, but let us not be led to assume that such difficulties beset only the social sciences; we are merely more conscious of them in the familiar realm of social interaction than we are of similar problems related to inanimate objects or to the lower organisms.

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We should keep in mind that the meteorologist is seldom able to predict the weather on a given day two weeks in the future despite the desires of his friends to have a picnic on that date, and he has many accurate instruments at his disposal. The doctor of medicine may have to "wait until tomorrow" to decide whether Junior's rash is measles or something else, for he is unable to predict with assurance, even twenty-four hours in advance.

If accuracy in prediction is a measure of exactness in science then we should recall that the zoölogist cannot tell us which rabbit will eat the tops off of our newly arisen beans; the botanist cannot predict which seeds out of a package will not germinate; the bacteriologist would hesitate to say which of a dozen children who have been exposed to the mumps will contract the illness; the geologist would not like to have us press him for a statement where the next earthquake will occur; nor would a physicist risk his professional status by predicting which railroad rail will crack during the next heavy frost. All sciences have predictive values but they rely on the statistical device of probability. In the same manner does the sociologist, by the same mathematical techniques, and often with results which are just as accurate.

If one cannot safely base his case regard-

ing the assumed inexactness of sociology on its recognized fallibility in prediction, a weakness shared by all other sciences, then on what foundation can it be placed? Perhaps it uses a different method? If one observes the methods of sciences he will find that they are all essentially the same; the differences are in particular techniques and special laboratory equipment. The common method of every science consists of observation, hypothesis, assembling known facts, experimentation, gathering new data, testing the hypothesis, and a statement regarding the results. The machinery may be a telescope, a scalpel or a calculating machine, but the method is the same.

If the preceding comments are convincing to those who care to weigh them, then the statement is conclusive that sociology is one of the natural sciences, all of which are headed in the same direction; that is, toward an explanation of natural phenomena. The contention that sociology is not an exact science should be judged again in the light of facts which show that no single science is exceedingly precise, and exactness is only a relative term.

There may appear yet to be a little room for the belief that sociology is "so young" that it has not attained the coordination of maturity, but that is not a weighty argument, for during the century of its operation such scientific disciplines as bacteriology, meteorology, spectroscopy, oceanography, astrophysics, stereochemistry, neurophysiology, biochemistry, biophysics, endocrinology and several others have made their appearances.

While examining the foundations of the attitude that sociology is not an exact science, none would argue that its exactness should not be increased whenever possible. This might be advanced to a considerable extent if the multitude of studies concerning social phenomena which have been, and are being made, were to be brought together, analyzed, classified and woven into a pattern as a guide for future research. This fund of knowledge could be made use of on a broad scale. At the present time we see many re-

search projects under way throughout a number of institutions, and very little crosschecking or coordination among either the institutions or the research workers.

If one wishes to know what has been said, written, or done about the investigation of some aspect of social life, he may find it difficult to know when he has the available data. Our professional journals do a fairly good piece of work in publishing topics of theses and dissertations, but these papers are already launched before the lists are read

by the social scientists. Perhaps some central clearing house might be set up where all research could be registered. When one sets out on a piece of work, he could then be fairly sure that he knows what has been done, the names of others who have worked on similar problems, and whether his proposed topic has been adequately covered or not. Such a national service would save people time, provide essential information, and lead to a more precise treatment of the science of human society.

THE INCIDENCE OF JEWISH INTERMARRIAGE IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

MILTON L. BARRON Syracuse University

THE COMMUNITY utilized as the point of departure for this survey of intermarriages is Derby, Connecticut, the smallest in area of the 169 townships in the state. Its population, according to the United States Census of 1940, totals 10,287. Located in the lower Naugatuck Valley eight miles west of New Haven, Derby is an industrial community noted for its production of textiles and light metal commodities. Approximately 32 immigrant groups of the Caucasoid race are represented there, along with a few Negroes and Chinese. The pattern of their arrival was essentially the same as that found in hundreds of other towns and cities along the Eastern Seaboard. Six Protestant churches, two Roman Catholic churches, and an orthodox Jewish synagogue, as well as several other churches and synagogues in neighboring communities serve the religious needs of the people.

The original Jews in the community arrived from Germany during the late nineteenth century. Here they peddled their merchandise from door to door and subsequently opened clothing, jewelry, and millinery stores in the central business section of the city as soon as they had accumulated some capital. It was not until the turn of the century that Jews immigrated in numbers sufficient

to constitute an independent religious group. Most of these later immigrants were orthodox Jews from Russia and Poland; a few came from Hungary and Rumania. Almost all of them were merchants, catering to the needs of the immigrant gentiles whose languages they spoke. In 1905 the Jews organized a congregation, hiring the hall of a fraternal organization for Sabbath and Holy Day services. Previously they had attended synagogues in nearby communities or had formed prayer groups in their own homes. In 1916, when there were approximately fifty Jewish families in Derby, plans for the erection of a synagogue were begun. The building was completed in 1918. A resident rabbi was secured, a "Jack-of-all trades" who not only conducted religious services but also taught the children, served as cantor, slaughtered poultry and cattle, circumcized the male children, and married and buried the adults.

To what extent have these "small town" Jews intermarried? How does their intermarriage incidence compare with the rates of other communities and areas in Europe and America?

The Jews of Derby, 110 families in all, have had a high rate of inmarriage, none intermarrying in 1929-1930 and only one,

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TABLE I. SUMMARY OF STUDIES OF THE INCIDENCE OF JEWISH INTERMARRIAGE

Student	Locale	Period	Rate of Intermarriage per 100 Marriages in Which Jews Were Participants*
Engelman ^a	Switzerland	1888	5.39
Engelman ^a	Switzerland	1900	6.89
Engelman ^a	Switzerland	1910	8.84
Engelman ^a	Switzerland _	1920-	11.66
Fishberg ^b	Hungary	1895-1904	5.83
Ruppine	Hungary	1907-1908	8.30
Ruppine	Hungary	1925	20.46
Ruppine	Hungary	1935	24.46
Fishberg ^d	Germany	1901-1904	14.72
Fishberg ⁴	Germany	1905-1907	17.72
Ruppin*	Germany	1010-1011	21.36
Drachsler!	Germany	1915	51.00
Ruppin ^o	Germany	1928	34.96
Ruppin ^o	Germany	1933	43.78
Ruppin ^g	Germany	1934	23.89
Ruppin ^o	Germany	1935	15.46
Ruppin ^a	Russia in Europe	1924-1926	12.73
Ruppin ^o	Lithuania	1931	0.39
Ruppino .	Czechoslovakia	1933	20.45
Ruppin	Latvia	1933	5.14
Silcox and Fisher	Ontario	1920-1930	5.06
Silcox and Fisher	Quebec	1926-1931	2.99
Silcox and Fisher	Canada (excl. Quebec)	1920-1931	6.52
Silcox and Fisher	Canada (all)	1926-1931	4.82
Drachsler*	New York City	1908-1912	2.27
Brickner ^j	Cincinnati	1916-1919	3.60
Kennedy*	New Haven	1870	0.00
Kennedy*	New Haven	1900	1.18
Kennedy*	New Haven	1930	2.99
Kennedy*	New Haven	1940	5.68
Koenig!	Stamford	1938**	7.16
Barron	Derby	1929-1930	0.00
Barron	Derby	1940	16.67

"Intermarriage Among Jews in Switzerland, 1880-1920," American Jour. of Sociology, November, 1928,
 Vol. XXXIV, p. 518.

b The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment, New York, The Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1911, p. 197.

The Jewish Fate and Future, London, The Macmillan Co., 1940, p. 108.

d Op. cit., p. 197.

· Op. cit., p. 108.

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1 Democracy and Assimilation, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920, p. 126.

Op. cit., p. 108.

A Catholics, Jews and Protestants, New York, Harper & Bros., 1934, p. 265.

Op. cit., p. 128.

i Silcox and Fisher, op. cit., p. 264.

"Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," American Jour. of Sociology, January, 1944, Vol. XLIX, p. 333.

¹ "The Socioeconomic Structure of an American Jewish Community," Jews in a Gentile World, edited by Isacque Graeber and Steuart Henderson Britt, 1942, Chapter VIII, pp. 235-237.

" Data were collected in 1938. The years of marriage varied.

The percentages of intermarriage incidence are shown in terms of each 100 marriages in which Jews participated. For example, if the Jews in Area A had representatives in 150 marriages, 50 of which were intermarriages, the percentage of intermarriage incidence was 33.33 per cent. Intermarriage percentages in other studies were not comparable with percentages for Derby, because different bases were used in the percentages. That is, some scholars used the total of marriages as a base, some used inmarriages, and others used marrying individuals. In order to have all incidences of intermarriage on a comparable level, the meanings of the percentages of the other studies were translated into a uniform meaning; namely, the cases of intermarriage per 100 marriages in which Jews participated.

a female, in 1940. Local informants asserted that there have been very few cases in the last twenty years. Several orthdox Jews of Derby have recently married conservative and reformed Jews, most of them residents of the larger neighboring communities of New Haven and Bridgeport. The Derby Rabbi, whose other attitudes were ultra-conservative, had no objection to these inter-denominational unions. When the writer asked him if he approved of these marriages, he replied: "Why not? Jews are Jews, whether orthodox conservative or reformed. The lines are really meaningless."

The premarital relations of Jewish boys and girls in Derby with gentiles are similar to some caste relations, especially in regard to the sex taboo. They afford insight into the high rate of Jewish endogamy. For example, although it is quite common for a Jewish boy in Derby to have friends of his own sex among gentiles, it is only rarely that he will have a gentile "girl friend." One or two "dates" of this sort are sufficient for the relationship to become a topic of gossip in the community. In such cases, word usually reaches Jewish parents quite rapidly and they plead with their wayward sons to "stop bothering with 'Shikses' because there are plenty of fine Jewish girls in town."

More or less the same is true of Jewish girls. In fact, it is even more difficult for them than for unmarried Jewish males to cross the religious line heterosexually. The male friends of Jewish girls are very carefully checked, more so than in the case of gentile girls. Whereas Iewish boys are also closely guarded in this respect, they take advantage of the wider mobility which is a prerogative of their sex to sow their wild oats among gentile girls "out of town." Jewish girls are notably chaste in their premarital years, but it is common knowledge in the community that many if not most single Jewish males who engage in premarital intercourse resort to "Shikses."

Two Yiddish rhymes reflecting this situation are often expressed in Jewish "stag" groups. One is attributed to the average chaste Jewish girl whose guiding principle in premarital sex relations is summed up in these transliterated Yiddish words: "No Chuppe, no Shtuppe," or "No wedding (Canopy), no sex." The other rhyme which concerns the Jewish bachelor's relations with Gentile girls is as follows:

"In die Torah ist geschrieben, Mit a Shikse kennst du liegen, Wenn die Shikse lass nit toppen, A Cholere soll sie choppen!"

or

"In the Torah it is written,
That you may lie with a Gentile girl,
But if the girl does not let you 'have' her,
May she be afflicted with Cholera!"

To be sure, endogamy prevails among Derby Jews. Yet it is rare to find the individual Derby Jew marrying another Jew of the same community. In short, there seems to be a conflict between the taboo against intermarriage and the almost incestuous repulsion against marriage with members of the in-group with whom contact has been intimate and prolonged. This conflict is resolved by community exogamy combined with religious endogamy. The same phenomenon was noted by Mandelbaum in "Urbana," a neighboring small community. There, it was pointed out, "the young men are averse to keeping company with the local girls and the young women seek their husbands from other places. A group as small and compact as is Urbana Jewry comes to take on some of the aspects of an extended family. Its members are so familiar with each other's history and foibles that there is little room for romantic interest. Moreover, young men desiring to be fetter-free, feel themselves enmeshed by local gossip, if they pay particular attention to an Urbana girl."

One fact which is incompatible with this analysis, however, is that it does not apply to many other Derby groups, most of whom practice both religious and community endogamy. Possibly their larger numbers provide the answer.

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¹ "A Study of the Jews of Urbana," The Jewish Social Service Quarterly, December, 1935, Vol. XII, p. 230.

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JEWISH INTERMARRIAGE IN EUROPE

Until late in the nineteenth century. European Jews inmarried almost entirely, so that one of their scholars2 recently remarked that inmarriage "formed the strongest bond . . . making them into a homogeneous ethnic unit, able to show a unique power of resistance against the assimilating forces of Christianity and Islam. Even Jews who have become indifferent to their religion often remain adverse to marrying outside their community; this is perhaps the last remnant of their national consciousness. They feel that, although they have dropped the Jewish ritual, they will remain Jews so long as they and their children intermarry with Jews, and that only a mixed marriage would finally separate them from their people. Indeed, intermarriage, as soon as it appears on a large scale, marks the end of Judaism."

From the latter part of the nineteenth century until the advent of Hitler, Jewish intermarriage with non-Tews increased steadily throughout Europe and the United States. The gradual increase was true only when all incidences were combined, but not in each specific country, as Table I demonstrates. That no necessary pattern of gradual increase in Jewish intermarriage exists is further corroborated by the observation that throughout Jewish history Jews have intermarried more in prosperous times than in times of economic depression and social oppression.3

Generally, in the western European countries where Jews have been numerically few and "emancipated" in the sense of enjoying full civil rights and of practicing a relatively diluted form of Judaism, they have intermarried proportionately more and at a faster rate than Jews elsewhere in Europe. Jewish women nearly everywhere have been more conservative than Jewish men in entering intermarriage. For example, the Jews of Switzerland in the course of 32

years have more than doubled their rate of intermarriage. In 1888, the first year for which statistics are available, they intermarried in 5.39 of every 100 marriages in which they participated; two years later, in 1900, the rate increased to 6.89 per cent. By 1910 the rate was 8.84 per cent and in 1920 it rose to 11.66 per cent. Both sexes showed an increasing tendency to intermarry, but the women, except in 1888 when they outnumbered the men slightly, constituted the smaller element of Jews entering intermarriage. From 1888 to 1920, the men were 52.1 per cent of the Jews who intermarried whereas the women supplied 47.9 per cent.⁵

In Hungary, the Jews over a period of forty years almost quintupled their intermarriage rate. In the period from 1895 to 1904, 5.83 per cent of the marriages involving Jews were intermarriages. In 1907-1908 the rate was 8.30 per cent. This increased to 20.46 per cent in 1925 and 24.46 per cent in 1935.

Scandinavian Jews in the early years of the twentieth century were only a very small fraction of the population and they experienced almost as many intermarriages as inmarriages. Indeed, in Sweden the number of Jewish intermarriages exceeded the inmarriages. In that country the rabbis protested so violently that they refused to officiate at the intermarriage ceremonies or to circumcize the children of intermarried couples. However, the Jewish laymen authorized several physicians to perform the circumcisions.⁸

In France and Italy, where Jews also constituted a very small minority and were treated tolerantly, intermarriages prevailed. Almost all Jewish families in Italy had Christian relatives through intermarriages. This process was terminated by Italian legislation in 1938 which prohibited intermarriages between Christians and Jews. Denglish Jews of Spanish and Portuguese

² Ruppin, op. cit., p. 106.

³ Coon, Carleton S., "Have the Jews a Racial Identity?" Jews in a Gentile World, edited by Isacque Graeber and Steuart Henderson Britt, 1920, Chap. I, p. 28.

^{*}Ruppin, op cit., p. 111.

⁸ Engelman, op.cit., pp. 518-519.

Fishberg, op. cit., p. 197.

⁷ Ruppin, op. cit., p. 108.

^{*} Fishberg, op. cit., pp. 196-198.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 201-202.

¹⁰ Ruppin, op. cit., p. 109.

origin have almost disappeared through intermarriage with Christians, although the recent immigrant Jew in England of the Orthodox faith has remained relatively steadfast in endogamy.¹¹

Of special interest is the pattern of incidence in Germany. For the first ten years after the legalization of intermarriages in Prussia in 1875, only 9.14 per cent of the marriages in which Jews participated were intermarriages.12 This increased to 14.72 per cent in 1901-1904, 17.72 per cent in 1905-1907,13 21.36 per cent in 1910-1911,14 and 51.00 per cent in 1915.15 After the World War, however, the intermarriage rate declined considerably, the rate being 34.96 per cent in 1928 and 43.78 per cent in 1933. The coming to power of Hitler and the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws which included restrictions against intermarriage were responsible for another decline in the ensuing years, the rates being 23.89 per cent in 1934 and 15.46 per cent in 1935.16

Czechoslovakia in 1933 had a Jewish intermarriage rate of 20.45 per cent, but in Eastern Europe, except in Soviet Russia, intermarriages by Jews who are mostly Orthodox never reached large proportions. Lithuanian Jews in 1931 had a rate of only 0.39 per cent and Latvian Jews a rate of 5.14 per cent. Jews in European Russia were affected by emancipating influences of the Revolution to the extent of having an intermarriage rate of 12.73 per cent in 1924-1926.¹⁷

JEWISH INTERMARRIAGE IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

In Canada, where Jews are largely of the first and second generation and of Eastern European stock, intermarriage rates have been low, more so in Quebec because of

French Catholic cooperation with Orthodox Jews in aversion to intermarriage and stringency of regulation. In Ontario during the period 1920-1930, the rate was 5.06 per cent; in Quebec during the years 1926-1931, the rate was 2.99 per cent; in Canada, excluding Quebec, from 1920 through 1931, 6.52 per cent of the marriages participated in by Jews were intermarriages. In all Canada during the period 1926-1931 the rate was 4.82 per cent. The year-by-year rates in the above mentioned places and periods of Canada did not show a pattern of increase, which is further evidence against the alleged existence of an inevitable trend in that direction.18 Indeed, there was some indication of a generally diminishing rate of Jewish intermarriage. Silcox and Fisher not only discount the theory that intermarriage must progressively increase, but they also claim that in the case of the Iews at least, there should be a trend in the opposition direction. In Canada, they pointed out, "there does tend to be a hardening of Jewish communalism as the group is longer domiciled, and after the second generation has broken loose for a time, it tends to find its life more largely within its own cultural group. Indeed, there is evidence that a very large proportion of the intermarriage which takes place concerns Orthodox Jews; as the Jew becomes successful, he is apt to attach himself to the liberal synagogue and finds there a social status more acceptable than he may discover either outside of Judaism or in Orthodox Judaism. He then finds his friends and his mates in that circle."19 Jewish males in Canada, as elsewhere, have been found to intermarry more frequently than the women, despite the balanced sex ratio.20

During the colonial period in what is now the United States, Jews intermarried at a higher rate than they have ever since that time, probably because of the scarcity of Jewish women.²¹ The first Jewish intermarri a we Jacob The] before marri settle family Jewis. Conn marri times. virtua Jews who ! public

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¹¹ Fishberg, op. cit., p. 203.

¹² Ruppin, op. cit., p. 108.

¹³ Fishberg, op. cit., p. 197.

¹⁴ Ruppin, op. cit., p. 108.

¹⁵ Drachsler, op. cit., p. 126.

¹⁶ Ruppin, op. cit., p. 108.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁸ Silcox and Fisher, op. cit., p. 265.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 263.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 266.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 265-266.

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marriage on record occurred in 1660 when a well-known Jewish doctor in Maryland. Jacob Lumbrozo, took a Christian wife.22 The Jewish pioneers who lived in Kentucky before 1836 disappeared through intermarriage, "the descendants of the early settlers . . . known only by their Jewish family names and their oriental features."23 Iewish families in New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts all intermarried extensively in pre-Revolutionary times, thus accounting in large part for the virtual disappearance of the Sephardic Jews in America.24 Many Sephardic Jews who have gained prominence in American public affairs since the Civil War have married Christians.25

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The German Jews who followed the Sephardic Jews to America likewise began to intermarry very frequently after a number of years of residence, more so in the southern and western states where they were few in number than in the eastern states.²⁶

The third wave of immigrant Jews who came from Eastern Europe have not as yet intermarried with gentiles to the extent that their preceding co-religionists have. Indeed, the three divisions of Jews in the United States, until recently, married very little with one another, the earlier arrivals scorning the later ones as crude, superstitious and economically indigent, and the latter despising the former as snobs and religious renegades.27 As recently as 1925, one student of immigrant groups28 asserted that "intermarriage between a Sephardic Jew and a Russian Jew, for instance, is as rare, if not rarer, than intermarriage between Jew and gentile." Even within each of these divisions

of Jews there was at first aversion to marriage with some of the sub-divisions. Bavarian Jews hesitated to marry with those German Jews who came from the area near the Polish border, derisively labelled "Pollacks." The Russian Jew looked down on the Polish and Galician Jews and refused to marry them or to permit his children to do so.²⁹ Although these intra-Jewish barriers to marriage have largely disappeared in recent times, first generation Jewish parents may still go through the motions of expressions of embarrassment when their children marry the sons and daughters of a ridiculed sub-group.

The Eastern European Jews, by reason of their overwhelming numerical superiority over other Jews, have been the main subject of intermarriage statistics during the last thirty years. In New York City during the years 1908-1912 only 2.27 per cent of the marriages involving Jews were intermarriages. Of all groups Jews and Negroes ranked lowest in intermarriage percentages. German and French Jews, the nearest to Gentiles in cultural traits, had the highest intermarriage rates of all Jews. Next in rank were the Jews from Hungary and Holland, and last of all those from Eastern Europe.30 Smaller Jewish communities in the United States whose intermarriage records are available also show low incidences. According to Rabbi Brickner's analysis of Jewish marriages in Cincinnati between 1916 and 1919, only 3.60 per cent of the cases were intermarriages.31 In New Haven statistics are available beginning in 1870 when no Jewish intermarriages took place. In 1900 the rate was 1.18 per cent; in 1930, 2.99 per cent of Jewish marriages were intermarriages; and in 1940 the rate was 5.68 per cent.32 In Stamford in 1938, 7.16 per cent of the Jewish marriages functioning at the time, regardless of the years of their

23 Ibid., pp. 99-101.

²² Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 29.

[&]quot;Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 57-58; Vol. II, p. 91; Vol. VII; p. 43; Vol. XII, pp. 68-69; Vol. VI, pp. 92-93.

²⁶ Davie, Maurice R., World Immigration, N.Y. The Macmillan Co. 1936, pp. 161-162.

²⁶ Fishberg, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

²⁷ Stern, Elizabeth, I Am a Woman and a Jew, N.Y., J. H. Sears & Co., 1926, p. 183.

²⁸ Bercovici, Konrad, On New Shores, N.Y., The Century Co., 1925, p. 211.

²⁰ Broun, Heywood, and Britt, George, *Christians Only*, N.Y., The Vanguard Press, 1931, pp. 299-300.

³⁰ Drachsler, op. cit., pp. 121-124.

²¹ Silcox and Fisher, op. cit., p. 264.

Exennedy, op. cit., p. 333.

overwhelming majority of these intermarriage cases, 40 out of 50, the Jewish partners were male.33 In "Buna," another community studied recently, Jewish males were also found to be more likely to intermarry than Jewish females. However, in the higher income brackets and among the Reformed Jews, the number of Jewish women entering intermarriage was proportionately higher.34

Although the Burlington study compiled no data about the intermarriage incidence of both sexes among the Jews, it did reveal that of the 180 Jewish male householders in the community whose wives were living, only seven had intermarried.35 This was the lowest intermarriage rate of all groups in Burlington. In attitude, too, Burlington Jews were very conservative, for 53 of the 57 persons interviewed were of the opinion that Jews should not intermarry, their main reasons being the dangers of assimilation, family conflict and child disorganization that would ensue.36

Two students of Jewish intermarriage have attempted to define the social psychological types of Jews who intermarry, using terms suggested by University of Chicago sociologists, especially Park and Miller,37 and correlating them with W. I. Thomas' "four wishes." The first attempt, by Reuben B. Resnik,38 classified intermarrying Jews in four types: (1) the emancipated person who has freed himself from the religious influence of Judaism and who thus acquires a greater tendency to intermarry; (2) the rebellious person who deliberately intermarries in order to remove his Jewish identity; (3) the detached person who has broken away from

consummation, were intermarriages. In the the Jewish primary group, thus experiencing a weakening of the old restrictions against intermarriage; and (4) the adventurous person who looks at marriage as a new experience and does not care about the identity of his spouse. No type is pure, each having some characteristics of the other. The types are correlated with "the four wishes," according to Resnik, as follows:39

> "We see in the desire for new experience the adventurous person seeking a mate for a new thrill. The cultural background and other factors may influence his choice but do not in any vital way appear to motivate his decision. In the desire for security we see, for example, Jews in some cases marrying non-Jews because the former seem to feel a greater social security when they are accepted in marriage by members of the non-Jewish group. The desire for response is clearly brought out by the sex factor that enters into the decision of one mate to choose another regardless of the fact that that person has or has not the same background. The desire for recognition takes form in the devices for securing position and distinction in the eyes of the social group and, as a result, an enviable and advantageous social status. This wish in marriage is exemplified by the rich Jews of France intermarrying with some of the decadent aristocracy of that country."

The second attempt to define intermarriage types among Jews was made by J. S. Slotkin⁴⁰ who added four to the original four presented by Resnik, They are: (1) the unorganized or demoralized person who is a product of the deteriorated ecological areas of the city and one of whose modes of expressing non-conformity to the culture at large is intermarriage; (2) the promiscuous person who first has a casual sexual relationship outside his own religious group which he hesitates to form within his group for fear of "entangling alliances," and affection for the partner in promiscuity develops followed by intermarriage; (3) the marginal person, who, having absorbed the culture of the dominant Gentile group although he is

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^{**} Koenig, op. cit., pp. 235-237.

²⁴ Bloom, Leonard, "The Jews of Buna," Jews in a Gentile World, edited by Isacque Graeber and Steuart Henderson Britt, 1942, Chapt. VII, pp. 190-191. ³⁸ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 192-193.

³¹ Old World Traits Transplanted, New York, Harper & Bros., 1927, pp. 81-119.

^{38 &}quot;Some Sociological Aspects of Intermarriage of Jew and Non-Jew," Social Forces, 1933, Vol. XII, pp. 94-102.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[&]quot;Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Chicago," American Sociological Review, February, 1942, Vol. VII, pp. 34-39.

still nominally a member of the subordinate Jewish group, intermarries in order to raise his status or that of his children to that of the dominant group; and (4) the acculturated person, who having become "Americanized" and having assumed Gentile standards, intermarries because no one among his own Jewish group is acceptable according to his newly acquired standards.

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These concepts and types appear to have little value because they overlap considerably. Furthermore, they are nebulous to the extent that they may be used in classifying almost any individual, whether he inmarries or intermarries, in one or more types. The writer fails to see where any patterns or types of intermarrying individuals exist, either among Jews or any other groups.

CONCLUSIONS

Generalizations concerning an ever-increasing rate of Jewish intermarriage in America are not substantiated by comparative analysis of the facts available here and abroad. Jewish intermarriage does not necessarily adhere to a pattern of increasing incidence. It varies in time and place according to the fluctuations of social conditions.

There is endogamous strength in numbers. However, unlike some other numerically small religious groups in Derby, such as the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics, the Jewish rate of intermarriage has been low. Two explanations to account for this discrepancy are the following:

r. The Jews are heavily concentrated in the merchant and professional economic classes, whereas the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics are recent immigrants from Peasant Europe and unskilled and semiskilled laborers. A higher economic status provides the Jews with horizontal mobility to the larger neighboring Jewish communities, permitting them to overcome the handicap of small numbers.

2. The longer, more varied history of migration by the Jews, and their centuries of existence as a minority in proximity to gentile majorities enabled them to develop attitudes and techniques of intermarriage resistance long before their arrival in America.

A NOTE ON CONSISTENCY IN QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

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ociologists and other students employquestionnaire techniques for gathering data have become increasingly skeptical concerning the accuracy of the information recorded in questionnaires. Some of the cruder inaccuracies have resulted from unsophisticated questionnaire construction (the use of language not intelligible to the informants, vague or confusing directions, etc.) and from attempting to secure information of a sort unsuited to this technique. But even when all of such known cautions have been observed, the more fundamental question still remains; namely, does any questionnaire give the information requested in all cases, and if not, in what

percentage of instances does it yield accurate data? In short, does the observed inaccuracy spring from faulty use of the questionnaire or does it inhere in the technique per se? Although this question probably cannot be answered by any one research, specific studies may contribute toward an answer. This paper is, in part, a report on one such project.

I. THE PROBLEM

In this study, as in most, ideal considerations pertaining to technique had to be modified to fit the "practical circumstances" under which the research was carried out. "More or less arbitrarily," then, it was

decided that identical questions would be submitted upon three occasions to the same persons at two-week intervals. A group of 162 students served as informants. It was intended that the informants not be told the purpose of the research and it be conducted in such a way as to conceal its purpose. Our attempt at concealment proved to be successful. Obviously, five or ten submissions would constitute a more rigorous test of consistency, but for numerous practical reasons such frequency was not feasible. Likewise, there might be difference of opinion as to whether two-week intervals between submissions would be "long enough" or "too long."

II. PREPARATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Sixty questions were selected from questionnaires of various types which had been widely used, among them Thurstone's "Attitude" questionnaires, Bell's "Social Adjustment" scales, and personnel forms used by teacher placement agencies, A conscious attempt was made to secure what would be considered "good questionnaire questions" on the basis of criteria usually listed in books on research techniques.1 The sixty questions were of three types: (a) factual questions, such as, "What is the date of your birth," (b) attitude questions, such as, "I trust in God to support the right and condemn the wrong," and (c) evaluation questions, such as, "Do you feel that your parents have been unduly strict with you?" In this way it was intended to secure data on the relative consistency of different question types. These sixty questions constituted the master questionnaire but it was never submitted to the informants as such. Instead, the sixty questions were interspersed among thirty other irrelevant questions in each of three questionnaires having different titles and being set up as differently as possible so as not to suggest any connection between them.

III. ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

The three questionnaires were submitted at two-week intervals to 162 students in introductory sociology courses during a summer session. Participation was optional with the student. Thirty students were either absent on one or more of the three days when the questionnaires were administered, refused to participate, or failed to complete the questionnaire. Thus data were complete for only 132 informants.

IV. RESULTS2

Replies were considered consistent if identical or equivalent answers were given on each of the three submissions. No tabulation was made concerning the degree of inconsistency, that is, whether only one of the three replies was inconsistent with the other two, or whether all three were different.

- 71.86 per cent of the responses were consistent.
- 2. Women exceeded men in consistency by .78 per cent, a factor hardly statistically significant in view of the smallness of the male sample—17.
- 3. Factual questions showed the lowest consistency of the three question types, 62.25 per cent for the men and 69.25 per cent for the women.
- 4. The three class groups (sophomores, juniors and seniors) showed approximately the same consistency, suggesting that the amount of scholastic training and the increasing selectivity operating as students ascend in class ranks apparently do not influence the stability of responses.
- 5. Age, likewise, seems not to be a significant factor although slight differences (one to five per cent) did appear in favor of the older informants.
- 6. No informants had all questions consistent, the highest ranking student having four questions of the sixty inconsistent.

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¹ E.g., G. A. Lundberg, Social Research, New York: Longman's, 1929; M. C. Elmer, Social Research, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939; G. L. Fry, Technique of Social Investigation, New York: Harper & Bros., 1934.

³ For the full text of the study see John B. Gerberich, "A Study of the Consistency of Informant Responses to Questions in a Questionnaire," unpublished M.A. thesis, Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Library, 1941, 74 pp.

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by Read Bain published in 1931³ reached conclusions similar to ours. Bain's group showed a 76 per cent consistency but in his study only two questionnaires were administered. Our informants would have had somewhat over 76 per cent consistency if the study had terminated with the second submission. Bain's study agrees that women are slightly more consistent than men on questionnaire responses and that the amount of educational training has little apparent influence on consistency.

V. IMPLICATIONS FOR QUESTIONNAIRE RESEARCH

The initial problem posed in this paper has, of course, not been solved by this research. Subordinate queries, however, have been raised and to some extent answered. In numerous researches as well as in practical data gathering, the collector has traditionally assumed that if he followed sophisticated questionnaire construction techniques he would secure accurate data. There may be those who would question the above statement, insisting instead that the truly sophisticated researcher expects error and allows for it. Nevertheless, in perusing a random sample of ten questionnaire researches published during the last three years not one of them was found to have made either implicit or explicit allowance that his informants may have given incorrect replies.

There is, moreover, a widely current common-sense impression which this and other researches call into doubt, namely, that factual questionnaire information is more reliable than attitudinal or introspective data. Our data show that the reverse is true insofar as we may judge accuracy by consistency. We readily acknowledge that consistency may not indicate accuracy but it is certainly obvious that, on the type of factual material which was studied, incon-

sistency certainly could not denote accuracy. Therefore, our data tend to exaggerate rather than to minimize the incidence of inaccuracy in questionnaire responses of all types and more especially pertaining to factual data.

It may be elaborating the obvious to suggest that additional experiments of this type would assist greatly in stardardizing, in some measure, what could be called the margin of probable inconsistency and also very probably the margin of error to be expected in using questionnaire data where large numbers of informants are involved. For the single case or very small group, where margins of error are essentially meaningless, one can but conclude that the questionnaire had best not be trusted for accuracy.

It is not to be assumed, moreover, that questionnaire data are any less accurate than other forms of communication such as the interview or the personal document. We are dealing here with a fundamental imperfection in interpersonal communication. Whether that imperfection is reduced by or accelerated by this device is quite another problem worthy of investigation.

Finally, as has already been briefly mentioned, consistency and accuracy are not the same. Here, then, is another research opportunity worth exploring. In broad terms, there seems to be a need for a series of studies along the following lines. A questionnaire consisting of factual data, of such nature that the facts could be checked by the researcher and compared to the responses of the informants on the questionnaire, could be prepared and submitted to groups of informants. Such a project could easily be planned so that it would yield data pertinent to at least three separate but related problems: (a) consistency of questionnaire response, (b) accuracy of questionnaire response, (c) consistency of questionnaire response with other types of response, such as interviews, autobiographical or other undirected forms of communication. Pending such investigations, it is not amiss to suggest that a more cautious acceptance of questionnaire data seems to be indicated.

^a "Stability in Questionnaire Responses," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII, No. 3, 1931, pp. 445-453.

See also R. W. Cavan, "The Questionnaire in a Sociological Research Project," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII, No. 5, 1933, pp. 721-27.

FACTORS UNDERLYING THE LOCATION OF PHYSICIANS WITHIN INDIANA

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A SHORTAGE of physicians in rural communities has been noted by some observers for many years. The American Medical Association apparently now holds this opinion since it advocated an expansion of medical education to provide more doctors for such areas in its 14-point program of July 19, 1945.

One of the basic causes before the War of the inadequate supply was that rural places were not getting a share of physicians in proportion to their population. In 1923, counties having no incorporated place of 2,500 or more inhabitants had 92 physicians per 100,000 population while counties with cities of 50,000 or more residents had 159 physicians for each such unit of population. In 1938, the disparity was greater with the respective rates for the two groups of counties being 69 and 174.1

The shortage was aggravated during the War by entry of many physicians into the armed forces and by a substantial reduction in the number of medical-school graduates. Although a large percentage of Army and Navy doctors will have been discharged by September 1946 and although the number of graduates may exceed pre-war levels within four or five years, it is unlikely that the rural supply will become adequate so long as a highly disproportionate number of physicians choose to practice in urban places. It is desirable, therefore, to have more information on the factors underlying choice of location in order to try to change the balance more in favor of rural communities.

Studies by Nelson for Minnesota;2 Rice

for Indiana;3 and Mountin, Pennell, and Nicolay4 for the country as a whole have given some emphasis to the economic factor as a determinant of the distribution of doctors. In the last mentioned of these studies, it was reported that community wealth was of paramount importance among the factors investigated in determining the availability of physicians. The following evidence was given in support of this conclusion: ". . . Throughout the range of income, provisions in medical personnel increased in conformity with elevation of income. In counties with the highest per capita incomes the physician-population ratio was nearly four times as great as in the poorest counties; this ratio for physicians under 45 years of age was eight times as great. More than one-half of all physicians in the wealthy counties were under 45 years of age, but less than one-fourth were in this category in the poorest counties."5

The most widely accepted opinions among doctors and medical students likewise tend to give emphasis to the economic factors underlying location. A view that has had some vogue among apologists for the prewar system of training is that there are enough physicians graduated each year during peace time to ensure that wherever a doctor can make a decent livelihood there will be one desirous of locating there. According to this opinion, the solution of a rural shortage is not to be found in the training of more men or in diverting some

¹ Mountin, Pennell, and Nicolay, "Location and Movement of Physicians, 1923 and 1938—Effect of Local Factors Upon Location," Public Health Reof the villages dents of spend a medical tioners among a hard establis they earural of the villages of the vil

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can Sociological Review, December 1942, pp. 795 and 801.

³ Thurman B. Rice, "The Distribution of Physicians in Indiana," Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association, Vol. XXV, April 15, 1932, pp. 157-162.

⁴ Mountin, Pennell, and Nicolay, Loc. Cit., pp. 1945-1953.

^{*} Ibid., p. 1946.

ports, December 18, 1942, p. 1951.

Lowry Nelson, "Distribution, Age, and Mobility of Minnesota Physicians, 1912-1936," Ameri-

of the flow of graduates from cities to villages, but in raising the income of residents of rural areas, in getting them to spend a greater proportion of their income on medical services, or in subsidizing practitioners in those areas. A common belief among medical students is that doctors have a harder and longer struggle to become established in cities, but once established they earn much more than they could in rural communities. Persons holding this

paring rural with urban physicians to determine some of the factors which distinguish one group from the other in their selection of a place to practice.

Method. A questionnaire of 22 items was prepared with the instruction that each be checked as to whether or not it had been important in the selection of the doctor's current location. It was mailed in December, 1941, to representative samples of 250 urban and 125 rural physicians who were listed

Table 1. Percentage of Rural and Urban Physicians Checking Selected Economic Factors as Important in Choice of Present Location¹

Reasons for Location	77-1	Rural		Urban ²		Rural ³		
	Urban		L	M	S	С	N	S
Relatively few doctors in town	17	50	19	10	17	45	54	50
Residents are well-to-do	13	15	17	8	11	15	14	17
Joined an older doctor	36	17	29	42	44	15	18	17
Stepped into built-up practice	21	20	11	33	22	25	32	28
Started as interne and stayed on	14	2	23	12	0	0	4	0
Could obtain credit easily	3	11	0	8	0	10	11	11
Number of Cases	154	66	70	48	36	20	28	18

¹ Each percentage in the tables is to be considered separately and cannot be added with other percentages to form a total of 100 per cent. The complement of each figure given is the percentage that *did not* check the item as important. It has been omitted in every case, but is always the difference between 100 per cent and the figure given.

² S-2,500 to 25,000; M-25,000 to 100,000; and L-100,000 and over in population.

³ C—Central band of counties; N—Northern counties; and S—Southern counties.

point-of-view believe that men choose a rural practice who do not care to undergo the hardships and higher probability of failure attendant with setting up a practice in an urban place or who are faced with the necessity of earning a good income immediately to support a family or to pay off their debts. Another opinion on the subject is that the choice of area is usually a matter of selecting the place that appears to offer the highest earnings.

These being some of the research findings and some of the current beliefs on the subject, it seems clear that analysis of the problem may be carried forward by showing that social as well as economic factors are important in the choice of location, by indicating some of the specific ways in which the economic factor operates, and by com-

in the 1940 Indiana Medical Directory as having graduated from medical school in 1920 or later and who were not connected with the staff or faculty of an institution such as a state hospital or the University of Indiana. These samples were selected by taking every ninth name of the 2251 such urban and every fifth name of the 621 such rural physicians.

One hundred and fifty-four urban and 66 rural questionnaires were returned. The urban questionnaires were grouped according to size of city, with the population classes being 2,500 to 25,000; 25,000 to 100,000; and 100,000 and over. The rural questionnaires were classified in three socioeconomic regions; namely, a northern group of counties covering about a third of the state, a central band through which High-

way 40 runs or which are immediately north or south of it, and the remaining southern counties, including about two-fifths of the state. Criteria used in this classification were farm income, percentage of tenant farms, size of families, nationality background, religious affiliation, material possessions, such as radio and automobile, and voting behavior. These criteria tended to separate the rural districts according to degree of urbanization, with the central counties being the most urbanized, the southern counties the least so, and the northern counties to a degree in between the other two groups.

The urban and rural respondents were compared with their total sample in age and location to determine to what extent representativeness had been impaired by incomplete returns. Three classes with a 10-year interval were used for age distribution. The three size groups of cities and the three socioeconomic regions were used for distribution by residence. The largest difference between respondents and total sample in any age category was three percent. The largest difference in any geographical category was five percent.

Earning a Living. Since the selection of a location must in almost all cases be limited to those places in which the doctor would be able within a reasonable time to support himself according to his standard of living, some persons might have the impression that physicians have fairly good information on potential income in various areas and that they carefully weigh the facts about one place with those about other places when making a decision. It is probably incorrect, however, to assume that many men go through such an explicit and complete comparison of the economic prospects of several areas. The question is, then, what clues, information, data, stereotypes, and other symbols are used in the process of judging whether or not one is likely to earn the income which has been set as a minimum.

One indication of the likelihood of such earnings might be found in the presence of relatively few doctors in the town considered for location. This reason was checked as having been important in determining their

present location by half of the rural and by 17 per cent of the urban sample. This difference of 33 per cent between the two main sample groups was the largest for any of the 22 items of the questionnaire. All of the rural regions had at least 45 per cent of their physicians who checked this item as important; whereas, none of the urban groups had as many as 20 per cent. One explanation of the difference may lie in the fact that cities are seldom so understaffed that it is obvious that more doctors are needed while there are many rural areas with so few practitioners that when one of them dies or becomes too old for regular service it is apparent that a new physician can become established without much difficulty. It is probably true also that many physicians will not settle in a rural community unless this favorable condition exists although willing to do so in a city on the assumption that in a large place a good man can always make room for himseli.

Some medical school graduates may have the attitude when making their decision that they cannot be assured of success in any particular type of community, that they might fail in a city as well as in a rural location, and that they had better start out wherever they can get a foothold. With this thinking in the background, a physician might be influenced in his selection of a place by an opportunity of stepping into a built-up practice, of joining an older doctor who needed assistance, or of continuing as a resident physician in a hospital in which he had been an interne.

Thirty-six per cent of the urban and 17 per cent of the rural sample checked the joining of an older doctor as having been of importance in their choice of present location. Size of city had some bearing on the urban percentage with 29 per cent of the physicians from the large cities checking this factor; whereas, the percentages for the medium and small-sized cities were 42 and 44 respectively. The rural-urban difference may be attributed to the fact that village practices often are not large enough to support two men. The difference between the

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larger and smaller-sized cities may be associated with the fact that a higher percentage of the physicians from the latter group were practicing in their home town. There may also be some tendency of doctors in very large cities to resort to clinical or similar arrangements when in need of assistance instead of taking in some young man on a partnership basis.

Twenty-one per cent of the urban and 29 per cent of the rural sample checked the item of stepping into a built-up practice as one of importance. Among the various subdivisions of the two main samples, the only difference of significance was that between large cities and all other groups. Only 11

percentages probably follow directly from the fact that a large proportion of graduates serve their interneship in large-city hospitals.

The obtaining of credit and the wealth of the residents of an area did not influence many of the doctors of the samples in choosing their present location. It may be that credit is easy to obtain wherever one goes and that physicians use more specific mechanisms to gauge the desirability of locating in an area than that of information on the wealth of the residents.

Community Ties. When choosing their first location, many physicians have as their only strong community ties those which they have built up in their home town. If a

Table 2. Percentage of Rural and Urban Physicians Checking Selected Community Ties as Important in Their Choice of Present Location

Reasons for Location	Urban	Rural	Urban			Rural		
Reasons for Location			L	М	S	C	N	S
Home town	43	14	34	56	56	5	14	22
Near home town	5	15	9	4	0	15	18	II
Friends or relatives in town	38	12	37	33	44	5	18	II
Wife's people lived in town	16	2	17	12	17	0	4	0
Number of Cases	154	66	70	48	36	20	28	18

per cent of the physicians in cities of 100,000 or more population marked this item while from 22 to 33 per cent of those in the other groups did so. A notation of one of the doctors practicing in Indianapolis is interesting in this connection. He wrote that this factor is not likely to be important in large cities, because professional relationships are often too tenuous for a new doctor to hope to retain many of the patients of an older man.

The process of establishing one's self in a location by starting as an interne at some hospital and staying on appears to have been important only in the case of physicians in large cities. Twenty-three per cent of the doctors from such urban places checked this reason, 12 per cent of the respondents from medium-sized places did so, and almost none from the smaller-sized cities or from the rural areas acknowledged its influence. These

doctor has lived for some time in another community, his most important ties there will consist usually of the friends and relatives he has in the area. Three of the four items of the questionnaire used to illustrate the influence of community ties refer to the man's home town or to that of his wife. The fourth item is that of having friends or relatives in the place and is, of course, closely related to the other three since it probably constitutes one of the chief reasons for wanting to be in one's home town.

Forty-three per cent of the urban and 14 per cent of the rural sample gave "home town" as an important reason for their present location. More than half of the men in the small and medium-sized cities and about a third of those in the large cities checked this item. In a few cases, it was noted that the physician joined his father in order to give him the assistance he needed.

In other cases, the reason for returning to the home town might have been to retain intimate contacts with old friends, to continue a social status that was convenient and satisfying, to be able to give personal attention to property owned there, to participate more fully and intelligently in community institutions and organizations than might have been possible elsewhere, or merely to avoid the unpleasantness of entering strange surroundings and of developing new relationships and habits.

These home town values, however, were not strong enough to outweigh the disadvantages of practicing in rural areas or to overcome the pull of large cities. Only five also checked this item. Either the desire to retain such contacts is not a predominant motive in returning to practice in one's home town or some of the physicians of the sample thought it was unnecessary to mark the less inclusive of the two items after having checked the first.

The residence of the wife's parents in the town was not frequently an important influence on the choice of location. Only about 16 per cent of the urban and two per cent of the rural sample checked this item. Also relatively unimportant was the proximity of the location to the home town of the doctor.

Mode of Living. The significance of the

Table 3. Percentage of Rural and Urban Physicians Checking Selected Environmental Factors as Important in Choice of Present Location

Reasons for Location	II-ban	ban Rural	Urban			Rural		
	Orban		L	M	S	С	N	S
Town is a nice place to live	53	67	57	42	6 1	70	68	61
Work and live at moderate pace	17	35	11	21	22	20	39	44
Town is near a large city Good churches, schools, and in-	12	39	11	12	11	50	36	33
stitutions	47	59	57	42	33	75	50	56
Number of Cases	154	66	70	48	36	20	28	18

per cent of the physicians in the sample from the central band of counties checked this item as one of importance. The southern counties, with 22 per cent, had the highest proportion of rural physicians marking this reason for location. The difference is consistent with the fact that the central areas are most highly urbanized and the southern areas the least so. The city pull upon men of the southern villages is probably less than in other rural communities, because they would have to travel farther away from home to open practice in a large city and in so doing would have to make a greater break with their cultural background.

The presence of friends or relatives in town was marked as important by 38 per cent of the urban and 12 per cent of the rural sample. Only about two-fifths of the cases that checked the item of "home town"

general social and physical environment is indicated by the fact that at least a third of either the rural or urban sample checked each of the four items of the questionnaire that pertained to the type of living available in the place chosen for practice. The statement that the town is a nice place to live was checked by more of the rural physicians than any of the other items. In the case of the urban doctors, it was second only to the presence of good hospitals; an item that will be considered later under the heading of facilities aiding practice.

The four items shown in table three appear to have been particularly important in the location of the rural physicians. Two-thirds checked the item of the town being a nice place to live; 59 per cent marked good churches, schools, and institutions; 39 per cent indicated that the town's location near

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a large city was important; and 35 per cent believed that the opportunity to work and live at a moderate pace had influenced their decision. Although the urban physicians checked these reasons less frequently in each case, about half of them thought that the town's being a nice place to live and the presence of good churches, schools, and institutions had been important in their choice of location.

The percentage who checked the factor of being able to work and live at a moderate pace varied considerably with the size of city and with socio-economic region. It was acknowledged as important by 44 per cent

of the northern and southern regions. The difference among the three classes of cities may be in accord with objective indices of the wealth and quality of service in their institutions. Similarly, the difference between the central and southern regions may be in line with such criteria of merit. But it is difficult to understand why the northern rural physicians checked this reason only to the same extent as the southern group and 25 per cent less frequently than the central group.

The town of location being a nice place to live has been mentioned as an item that was marked frequently by both rural and

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN PHYSICIANS CHECKING SELECTED CLASSES OF PEOPLE AS IMPORTANT IN CHOICE OF PRESENT LOCATION

Reasons for Location	Urban	Rural	Urban			Rural		
			L	M	S	С	N	S
Wanted to deal with city people	23	0	26	25	17	0	0	0
Wanted to deal with villagers	0	32	0	0	0	15	40	39
Wanted to deal with farmers	0	24	0	0	0	15	21	39
Number of Cases	154	66	70	48	36	20	28	18

of the physicians in the southern rural communities, but by only 11 per cent of the large-city doctors. This difference and the others found among the various subdivisions of the samples are generally in accord with expectation, but some surprise may be felt that any of the large-city doctors could believe seriously that they were able to live and work at a moderate pace. Perhaps, they had in mind the difference between living conditions in their city and those of huge places such as Chicago. Or they might have been living in a suburb of one of the cities of about 100,000 population and compared themselves with acquaintances living in the downtown part of Indianapolis, a city of nearly a half million population.

The presence of good churches, schools, and other institutions was checked more frequently by physicians of the large cities than by those of the medium and small-sized cities and by physicians in the central rural communities in comparison with those

urban physicians. The three rural subdivisions differed among themselves by a maximum of nine per cent. There was more difference among the three classes of cities with 57 per cent of the large-city, 42 per cent of the medium-sized-city, and 61 per cent of the small-sized-city physicians checking the statement. The difference between the medium-sized group and the other two may arise from the fact that cities like Terre Haute, Anderson, and East Chicago are more drab than smaller urban places like Crawfordsville, Elwood, and Bedford and do not have all of the compensating features of big-city life that are found in such a place as Indianapolis.

The proximity of the town of location to a large city was given as important by half of the rural physicians from the central region and by about a third of those from each of the other two rural regions. This difference is consistent with the large proportion of cities of 25,000 or more popula-

tion in the central part of the state. The three urban subdivisions of the sample checked this item to about the same extent. The 11 per cent in large cities who gave this reason as important were men in South Bend and Gary and they may have had Chicago in mind as the large city near which they lived and whose closeness was important in the decision to practice in their present location.

Type of People. It is not unusual to find people with a prepossession in favor of dealing with rural or with urban persons. Farmers

differences are in accord with the larger percentage of the doctors of the central region shown to have been influenced by the proximity of a large city and by the presence of good churches, schools, and other institutions. The northern and southern rural doctors seem to have given greater emphasis to the type of people with whom they might come into contact.

Facilities Aiding Practice. A common assumption of students of the problem of the distribution of physicians is that many of them will refuse to practice in a place

Table 5. Percentage of Rural and Urban Physicians Checking Selected Facilities as
Important in Choice of Present Location

Reasons for Location	Urban	Rural	Urban			Rural		
			L	М	S	С	N	S
Good hospital facilities	69	53	77	75	44	65	50	46
Clinics available	23	7	31	25	6	5	7	7
Opportunity to do research	12	3	23	4	0	0	4	6
Number of Cases	154	66	70	48	36	20	28	18

are sometimes supposed to be more honest, more direct in their approach to problems, and friendlier. City residents are thought to have fewer prejudices, to spend more money, and to have a wider range of information. Physicians may take such ascribed traits into consideration when choosing a location, either from the point-of-view of their practice or of having such persons as fellow citizens and neighbors.

Dealing with city people was given as a reason for location by 23 per cent of the urban sample. Differences among the three urban subdivisions were small, the largest being that of nine per cent between the doctors in small cities and those in large urban places.

Thirty-two and 24 per cent of the rural physicians respectively stated that the desire to deal with village people or with farmers had influenced their selection of a place to practice. The doctors of the central region differed up to 25 per cent from those of the two socio-economic areas in the frequency with which this reason was given. Such

that is distant from a good general hospital. Clinics have not been given as much attention as an important factor in location, but younger doctors may be somewhat concerned with the improvement of their methods and the furtherance of their education that sometimes can be best attained through clinical practice. The opportunity of doing research is probably of significance to only a small group of physicians. One of the sample group noted on his questionnaire that a doctor interested in research can do it anywhere; that he does not need special laboratories and like facilities.

Good hospital facilities were checked as an important factor in the choice of their present location by 69 per cent of the urban and by 53 per cent of the rural physicians. Three-fourths of the doctors in the large and medium-sized cities gave this reason as an important one while less than half of the men from the small-sized cities did so. Two-thirds of the rural physicians from the central region marked this factor; whereas, about half of the northern and southern rural

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doctor based sonal of he mig some ir ing his about doctors acknowledged its influence. Although these differences are in large measure in agreement with the distribution of general hospitals in Indiana, it is surprising that 46 per cent of the southern rural doctors checked this factor since there are some counties in that part of the state where it would require a long trip over bad roads to get a patient to a hospital.

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The availability of clinics was given as important by 23 per cent of the urban and by seven per cent of the rural physicians. A substantial percentage of doctors in the

similar factors. Two of the possible ways in which a graduate of a medical school might be directed in his choice of location are through the advice of a teacher or dean of his school and by being approached by some community organization and asked to settle in their town.

The doctors of the rural and urban samples were not greatly influenced in their selection of the present place of practice by either of these two types of social action. The first of the two items was checked by about seven per cent of each of the two

Table 6. Percentage of Rural and Urban Physicians Checking Selected Social Actions as Important in Choice of Present Location

Reasons for Location	17-1	Rural	Urban			Rural		
	Urban		L	М	S	С	N	S
Invited by community organiza- tion	7	8	11	4	0	5	4	17
Recommended by teacher or dean	1	3	3	0	0	5	0	6
Number of Cases	154	66	70	48	36	20	28	18

large and medium-sized cities checked this factor, but less than eight per cent of the men in any of the other sample subdivisions did so. This finding is in accord with the fact that clinics ordinarily are found only in large urban places.

The only sample subdivision with a sizeable percentage of physicians who checked the opportunity of doing research as an important reason for their location was that of the men in large cities. Twenty-three per cent of these doctors indicated that they had been influenced by this factor. In all other sample subdivisions, less than seven per cent thought that this item had played a significant part in their decision.

Social Action. The choice of location by a doctor is usually a highly individual matter, based on opportunities arising out of personal connections, on special interests that he might have, on personal application to some institution, on chance advantages crossing his path, on a scattering of information about possibilities in certain areas, and on

main samples and the second by about two per cent. It is noteworthy, however, that 17 per cent of the rural physicians from the southern region gave the fact of an invitation from a community organization as having influenced their location. This relatively high percentage probably reflects the greater difficulty of these rural areas getting even the minimum number of doctors needed by relying upon ordinary processes through which these men select a place in which to practice.

Rural and Urban Patterns. It is desirable to consider all of the items together since frequently it is a combination of reasons rather than a single one that determines location. It is also useful to distinguish those items which are common to both rural and urban physicians and those which distinguish each group from the other.

The presence of good hospital facilities; the attractiveness of the town as a place to live; and the existence of good churches, schools, and other institutions characterized the location of both rural and urban physicians. From one-half to two-thirds of both groups gave these reasons as important ones in the choice of their present location. The three items are similar in meaning and, consequently, there was some overlapping in the checking of them. Two of the three items were checked in nearly two-thirds of these cases and 28 per cent of the physicians checked all three.

The rural physicians checked five of the 22 items from two to three times as frequently as the urban physicians. These five were: relatively few doctors in town, town is near a large city, able to work and live at a moderate pace, wanted to deal with villagers, and wanted to deal with farmers. In each case, the item was checked by 24 or more per cent of the rural group and by less than 18 per cent of the urban group. The most common rural pattern was a combination of the town being a nice place to live and its having good institutions with either the economic factor of there being relatively few doctors in town or the environmental factor of being able to work and live at a moderate pace. This pattern was found in a third of the rural cases.

The urban physicians, in turn, had five items which distinguished them from the rural group and which they checked frequently. These five were: home town, friends or relatives in town, joined an older doctor, wanted to deal with city people, and clinics available. The percentage checking these factors varied from 23 to 43 and in every case was two to three times that of the corresponding rural percentage. The most common urban pattern was a combination of the town being a nice place to live and its having good institutions with the fact that it was the home town of the doctor. This pattern was observed in about twofifths of the cases from the medium and small-sized cities and in about a fifth of those from the large cities.

Conclusion and Recommendations. This paper started with the fact that rural areas are not getting as many physicians per unit

of population as urban places. The factors / underlying the location of physicians have been investigated in order to obtain information that might be helpful in attracting more doctors to rural communities. The data indicate that urban and rural physicians differ in their reasons for location; that social, as well as economic, factors are important in determining the location of both groups; and that little has been done by medical schools or by community organizations to influence directly the distribution of physicians. These are elementary propositions and were considered of value largely because emphasis so far in the study of the subject has been placed on economic factors. These propositions formed the framework within which the investigation was made. The substance of the work has been a delineation of the relative importance of certain specified factors in influencing the choice of location by urban and rural physicians. These factors have been summarized in the final section of the paper, dealing with rural and urban patterns. All that remains is to formulate a few recommendations for social action that are consistent with these findings.

1. The sine qua non of locating in a rural area is often some assurance that the demand for service is sufficient to support another physician. Some men may act solely on the basis of knowing that there are relatively few doctors compared with the number of inhabitants in the area. But whatever can be done to make the financial prospects of a new man more definite and concrete will be of value in getting doctors to settle there. Some communities have found it possible to guarantee that the doctor's income will not fall below a specified minimum.

2. The desirable features of life and practice in the area should be used as a strong subsidiary argument in location in the community. The qualities of the kind of people that the doctor would be dealing with; the strength of the churches and schools; the

opportunity for children to grow up in a safe and healthful environment; the physical beauty of the territory; the moderate pace at which

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3. Whatever facilities there may be for medical practice will be of immediate interest and importance to the men who might consider locating in the area. For this reason, if the community has a hospital, steps should be taken to improve its services. If a hospital is not in the area, plans should be laid to obtain one. Equipment and supplies may be obtained on good terms from the Surplus War Property Board. Once negotiations are in process, some physicians might be attracted by the idea of taking over the leadership in the venture and pushing ahead on it.

4. Although the organization of a clinic might be difficult, the problem should be at least discussed with responsible individuals in the area and with heads of institutions who may have some knowledge of the subject. A county clinic at which the services of specialists would be available on certain days of the month might be feasible. If not, the state government, the state university, and the Public Health Service might be approached to determine whether it would be possible to have a traveling clinic visit the area periodically.

5. High-school graduates in the community should be approached to see who are interested in taking up the study of medicine. Whatever can be done to facilitate the achievement of their goal, to maintain interest in their progress, and to indicate the need of the community in obtaining their services upon graduation may add to the number of these men who get through medical school and who return to their home town to practice. The community might stimulate this potential source of physicians by setting up a scholarship for some good student who otherwise would not be able to finance a medical education with the provision that he return after graduation to practice in the community for a stipulated number of years.

6. A public health program should be worked out in conjunction with state health officials to increase the interest of residents of the area in obtaining competent medical service when ill and in taking measures to prevent the occurrence of disease.

7. The extension of periodic physical examinations for rural and village school children at county expense and provision of free medical service for indigent patients would not only improve the health of the residents of the areas, but would also serve as a partial subsidy for a physician who might need such a guarantee before settling in the community.

8. A committee of responsible citizens should be formed to give periodic attention to such projects as have been described above. One of the functions of the group would be to determine when additional doctors were needed and to take whatever direct measures were found to be necessary to get them.

RELEVANCE AND THE ACADEMIC BIAS*

F. HOWARD FORSYTH War Production Board

THE BASIC challenge facing all peoples today is presented by the feasibility of great wars and great internal socioeconomic crises. This challenge must still be considered imminent even after the joint military-economic victory, until it has been demonstrated that the precipitant conditions are altered. Social scientists are professional students of the human and cultural materials from which the crises arise. Most social scientists are university professors whose minimum responsibility is to lecture -to youth. American sociologists are not a monastic group, and yet when measured by the stature of the present challenge it seems accurate to observe that there still exists an academic bias which prevents the fullest development of scientific sociology. It is taken as axiomatic that a mature scientific sociology would contain principles and data whose relevance to current and imminent human affairs was patent.

Sociologists as scholars need not be criticized for academic bias, but there is an important difference between a scholar and a scientist. Scholars could be described as people who think and read, while scientists think and read and investigate. A university may be a good place to think, and is one of the best places in which to read. With accessible laboratories either on the campus or

*This paper was designed in the form of a persuasive hypothesis, to stir up imaginative consideration of both the obvious and the subtle aspects of the question of social engineering and a change in emphasis of academic sociology. Possibly such a challenge is not necessary, since the activities of several score sociologists have already signalled the change in emphasis, and this paper is less a challenge than a symptom. It is felt, however, that the emerging developments can be more quickly clarified and appropriate action within the

realm of scientific sociology can be better charted

if the issues are brought into high visibility. Re-

joinder and supplement by other observers would contribute to this process. reasonably near it, a university may be one of the better places for investigation.

But to a social scientist, and particularly to a sociologist, universities have their limitations as the ideal or sole locus of professional activity, chiefly because of their handicaps as laboratories. Those sociologists who prefer being scientists to being scholars, and by verbal standards this is an almost unanimous desire, can compromise by making forays into the field for data. Lost in this procedure of research is the sense of relevance which is reflected in the selection of the fields of study, in the emphases within fields and in the relative superficiality of the data as compared to what the alert businessman, labor leader, politician, and soldier know about similar phenomena. In a strictly scientific sense, there is even question of the validity of social data acquired in these forays by people who have spent all their professional lives on the campus and expect/ to use the material in their classrooms of print it for use in other classrooms.

The lack of occupational circulation by sociologists may be both a result and a cause of the mutual suspicion between them and non-academic people engaged in active affairs. Rationalization about the superiority of university employment for the advancement of science is making a virtue of what is presumed to be necessity. It is now time to make a necessity of a different virtue if sociologists expect to be competent scientists of the present dynamic society. Life on a university campus is a polite and comfortable existence, but the scientific phases of the great sociological issues of today are not so accessible from the ivy tower as could be desired.

This is no shallow plea for "applied" science, but a fundamental challenge that current sociology must derive its problems and its data from, and test its findings in the

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"Wheth the story the comm science on structure i ing, furnis and equip affairs and activities of the operating world before they can be fully accredited as relevant or possibly even valid.¹

Validity is tested by determining whether a finding means what it is claimed or intended it mean. The validity of sociological findings must be tested against the tangible circumstances of a functioning demonstration. The crucial test of whether a criminologist, family sociologist, race specialist or other sociological scholar possesses anything but a few well-knit harmless platitudes is whether his data have a demonstrable influence upon situations in these fields. If physicists and chemists or their apprentices had never built great structures or performed industrial magic with substances, these fields would not today bear very close relation as sciences to what we presently observe.2 But

¹ There is another view, represented by Merton in "Role of the Intellectual in Public Bureaucracy," Social Forces 23:405-15, 1945, and by Znaniecki in The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge (New York, 1940), which sharply distinguishes between the independent intellectual or pure scientist and the operating intellectual or sage. The two roles are seen as incompatible and the latter is viewed by Znaniecki as less worthy. The view presented here is that the two roles are more compatible than American sociologists now recognize and that the benefits of closer liaison are definitely mutual, although there are some dangers. The pure scientist may be pure but he is less of a scientist than he realizes if his data and principles are far removed from the phenomena of similar classification (such as class or race) with which the operating man deals. Howard Becker refers to the scientist's preference for the control aspects of the phenomenal world in his article "Supreme Values and the Sociologist," American Sociological Review 6:155-72, 1941. The implications of Wissenssozziologie are that all roles are culturally conditioned, which presumably covers both the role outlined here and the role assumed by a pure scientist.

² Lancelot Hogben illustrates the relationship between science and the community in his book Science for the Citizen (New York, 1938). Note a paragraph from the opening pages of the book:

"Whether we choose to call it pure or applied, the story of science is not something apart from the common life of mankind. What we call pure science only thrives when the contemporary social structure is capable of making full use of its teaching, furnishing it with new problems for solution and equipping it with new instruments for solving sociology, if handicapped by its inability so far to emerge with sensational generalizations, has an important advantage over the physical sciences in its presumed knowledge of social mechanics, which is the process by which leadership gets its chance.

Lundberg wrote recently that scientists in wartime should "go about their business as scientists," by which he implied that sociologists should not capitalize on the community's unrest by entering the active arena where they can as scientists both test more pointedly their present formulations and develop further propositions of more basic importance to the science of sociology. If the two billion dollar plan for atomic bomb development could be duplicated with social sciences personnel and problems, it is safe to assume great scientific progress could be made.

The citizen-conservative may object to the activities of the sociologist on the grounds that he is not making himself useful in the current work of the world. The citizen-liberal certainly objects that the sociological scientist is not doing enough for progress, as Lynd has objected eloquently in *Knowledge for What*. It is not necessary whether or not it is desirable to enter this conflict between conservative and liberal. The scientist stripped of academic bias must admit that a contemporary American sociologist cannot

them. Without printing there would have been little demand for spectacles; without spectacles neither telescope nor microscope; without these the finite velocity of light, the annual parallax of the stars and the microorganisms of fermentation processes and disease would never have been known to science. Without the pendulum clock and the projectile there would have been no dynamics nor theory of sound. Without the dynamics of the pendulum and projectile, no Principia. Without deep-shaft mining in the sixteenth century, when abundant slave labour was no longer to hand, there would have been no social urge to study air pressure, ventilation, and explosion. Balloons would not have been invented, chemistry would have barely surpassed the level reached in the third millennium B.C., and the conditions for discovering the electric current would have been lacking."

p. 3.
In the article "Scientists in Wartime," Scientific Monthly 58:85-95, 1944.

sanctify himself against active affairs and expect to be an effective scientist. If he does enter active fields, it is of course a basic premise that he must take the greatest care to remain objective.

Unless he wishes to be simply a scholar who reads in a library, he must as a minimum journey to the active fields for his data. Preferably he should participate in those areas in order to be assured that his data and his problems are accurate and, more important, relevant. Beyond this he should participate sufficiently to get an operating test of validity. Tactically he should participate more than he does at present in order to gain the confidence of the people of active affairs and thereby get access to data and

opportunity for verification. The extent of participation can be checked briefly by reference to the professional lives of sociologists. The last twenty-five presidents of the American Sociological Society from 1921 through 1944 as described by themselves in Who's Who in America had completely unbroken academic careers from the time they espoused sociology, and in all cases but seven, from the time they began to earn a living. The fourteen candidates for offices of the Society in the 1945 elections showed wider experience. Five had unbroken academic careers, seven listed such functions as consultant and the remaining two were responsible officials in the federal government. News notes in the journals in the last few years indicate increasing use of sociologists by government agencies, but none of the twenty-five presidents or fourteen candidates listed any experience with private industry or business.

The irrelevance and academic bias of sociologists is nowhere more conspicuous and more ominous than in the area of modern industrialism. It is taken as axiomatic that modern society is not only basically industrial, but that the great crises of our time, including those stated in terms such as communism, fascism, capitalism, war and individual freedom, are all in very intimate ways restatements of the central crisis of industrialism. Can modern man learn to live

with the machine and with other men with whom the machine throws him in such close contact?

Peter Drucker has diagnosed this crisis in *The Future of Industrial Man* as a search for appropriate social forms in order to achieve an industrial *society*. He writes: "If the corporation is the representative social institution and if management is the decisive social power, mass production is the representative social form of our society" (p. 101).

Other problems than large-scale industry have caused crises in other societies, and furthermore it may be that it is not the machine itself but the speed of the forced readjustments to the machine which is causing us trouble. Such a distinction, however, makes little difference since the problem is posed by industrialism regardless of time urgencies.

It is difficult to avoid the impression that sociologists simply fail to recognize the central problem in our society (probably because of historic biases) or that they are as scientists feebly impotent before it (because of an academic bias). Admittedly, the literature of current sociology is heavily colored with "recognition of the importance of" industrial forces. But that literature and the research behind it are the decorative furnishings of a relevant sociology rather than the structure itself. There are numerous and excellent studies of urban society, but they are slanted to the diverse effects of urbanization rather than centered on the city's industrial and commercial dynamics. There are shelves of monographs on the unemployed, but "the employed" as a sociological concept is blank. The scholarly literature of social work deals voluminously with people who have fallen temporarily by the wayside, but it knows of the stream of ongoing traffic only by indirection. Thanks to the recent prophetic innovations of Sutherland, criminology has stumbled upon a segment of the central forces of our society long after these forces should have been identified directly.

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in implementable research on the most basic forces and institutions in our society, they would have made by now much more progress in becoming functioning scientists in the fields of industry, government, international war, and international peace. Instead, only a handful are so engaged and undergraduate sociology is mostly just another version of the humanities rather than a necessary technical subject for adequate performance in industry and direction of national and international affairs.4 Graduate sociology is mostly a way of preparing to teach undergraduate sociology. Instead of a tactical plan to correct these biases, we have in Lundberg's 1943 presidential address a contentment to "wait for the social sciences to develop." And we have the vague and faintly hopeful method of writing treatises and talking to adolescents.

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A direct and frank interest in the management class, the dynamics of present-day industrial (social) power, and the sociology of personal and group relations within the plant constitute not only the most-neglected field of a really relevant American sociology but are also a vital immediate challenge if we as scientists and citizens would avoid the threat which the current issues contain.5 The threat to the scientist, both social and physical, is that for failure to help make this central area operate successfully, he will be defined as irrelevant and scientifically invalid by the verdict of history. He spent his time becoming a specialist on the vermiform appendix while the heart and lungs failed and then even the appendix disappeared. Certainly many things learned on the appendix have unanticipated uses elsewhere, but cannot also the knowledge of the heart be put to other uses?

Consider the testimony of the industrialist and those writing about him. Fortune Magazine editorial writers printed in 19406 "more and more it is becoming difficult to pin an occupational label on first class top management. Neither selling skill nor knowledge or mass production is essential. It is essential primarily that the modern manager should be a good personnel man-able to understand and manage people." An official of the Proctor and Gamble Company wrote: "Since every business concern must also adjust itself to labor conditions, to consumer demands, and to public opinion, we regard it as an important function to try to understand and interpret social attitudes, and to aid the managers of the company to keep business policies in harmony with the social changes which are always occurring."7 This is the statement of a man who was hired for his professional abilities as an economist. One of the most eminent consulting engineers wrote that "management is the direction of an enterprise, through the planning, organizing, co-ordinating and controlling of its human and material resources, toward the achievement of a predetermined objective."8 An official of the Socony Vacuum Oil Company wrote that "Management is the responsibility for accomplishing results through the efforts of other people" (p.8), and "Management is not the direction of things, it is the development of people" (p. 9).9 The authors of the book Modern Psychology, after referring to a study of the famous Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company, summarized: "The major con-

^{*}This issue is sharpened by our asking why the State Department does not hire eminent social scientists for central direction of and expansion of the challenging job facing the American people.

The list of lecture topics at the University of Chicago's 1945 summer conference on human relations in industry is suggestive: The Factory as a Human Organization, The Factory in the Community, Why People Work, Race Relations in Industry, When Workers and Customers Meet, The Role of Union Organization, The Functions and Pathology of Status Systems in Industry, and Roads to Industrial Peace.

⁶ In an article entitled "The 30,000 Managers," 21:58-63ff.

Nathaniel R. Whitney, "The Economist as Adviser," Harvard Business Review, 20:379-380, 1942.

[&]quot;Harry Arthur Hopf, Office Management: Its Development and Future, New York, 1942.

Lawrence A. Appley, "The Human Element in Personnel Management," Society for Personnel Administration Pamphlet No. 4, Washington, D.C., 1941.

clusion from this study is that the true motivating factor in industrial production is the social situation."10 Another engineer wrote that "After all, managements engineering is rooted in the social as well as the physical sciences. . . . "11 The importance of sociological understanding among industrialists is pungently made in Burnham's challenging book The Managerial Revolution: "no one who comes in contact with managers will fail to have noticed a very considerable assurance in their whole bearing. They know that they are indispensable in modern society. Whether or not they have thought it out, they grasp the fact that they have nothing to fear from the immense social changes speeding forward over the whole world. When they begin to think, they get ready to welcome these changes, and often to help them along."12

On the folk level, the sayings of businessmen and industrialists are replete with references to "the human element." Despite the almost utter lack of professional assistance from sociologists, although some has been forthcoming from psychologists, the impression is gained that American management is acquiring by unordered methods some sociology which is above the folk level. In the face of the diffidence of sociologists, this information is not generally recognized as professional in character and the sociologists themselves have if anything a negative standing among industrialists. The mutual suspicion is probably mutual loss. Industrialists must either proceed on the level of commonsense (folklore) or individual moral preference, while sociologists avoid the central

core of the society they mean to study and fail to test the soundness of their data in the most dynamic arena of current activity.

The suggestion here is more than the nomination of industrial sociology as one more item in the list of accredited fields. Henry Pratt Fairchild and Dwight Sanderson in their presidential addresses (1936 and 1942) and Conrad Arensburg in an article in 1942 in the American Journal of Sociology have made the nomination. Ogburn, Sutherland, Lynd, the urban sociologists and others have cultivated the neighboring fields. What is needed now is action and directed effort.

Actual employment in industrial management and labor organizations of trained sociologists is overdue for the mutual improvement of sociology and industry. The sociology curriculum needs revision to provide undergraduate courses for the technical preparation of prospective executives. 13 Sociologists should be participating in the education of engineers and business administration students. Economists are being forced to do the sociologists' job in many of the institutes of industrial relations recently established. Graduate specialization should be provided, with a balanced course of study and mandatory in-service. To effect these, changes it will be necessary to retrain some of the faculty and recruit faculty from industry for permanent or briefer service, among such men as C. I. Barnard of New Jersey Bell Telephone,

The available literature should be assembled from scattered sources in trade and professional journals and many other places, and systematized. Theoreticians in both sociology and management should systematically enlarge the bridgehead between the two fields. Committees in the American Sociological Society, the Social Science Research Council, the American Management Associa-

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¹⁰ Charles S. Myers, Frank N. Freeman and Morris S. Viteles, *Modern Psychology*. Philadelphia, 1941. See also Roethlisberger's two books, *Management and Morale*, Harvard Unviersity Press, 1942, and (with Dickson) *Management and the Worker*, Harvard University Press, 1938; and Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, New York, 1933, for discussions of the Hawthorne studies.

¹¹ Nathaniel W. Barnes, "Management Engineering," Vocational and Professional Monographs No. 40, Boston, 1941.

²² Published in New York, 1941, p. 281.

¹³ A statement on a practical level of immediately feasible steps which can be taken to train sociological students for vocations in industry (chiefly in labor relations, personnel, and training) is made by Delbert C. Miller in the February, 1945, issue of the American Sociological Review, pp. 83-80.

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tion and the Society for the Advancement of Management should focus attention on the problem. Seminars and forums should develop the field. Above all, there should be an active effort to advance the scientific aspects of the field by research of the kind which current sociologists could not do without increased participation. There should be much greater circulation between industry and departments of sociology similar to the exchange which accelerated after 1932 between government and universities. Joint committees of sociologists and of professional managers should sketch concrete details of courses of action.

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A greater emphasis upon industrialism as the dynamic core of our society would help to reorient and integrate much of the scientific materials of social pathology, criminology, employment, class, social power, folklore and personality, and would revitalize the roles sociologists play. It would encourage a heartier interest among sociologists in participation in the work of the world, which is so largely industrial and commercial in

our society. The risk of loss of objectivity could and should be protected by close fraternity between the detached and the participating sociologists, and by circulation between the two roles. The current frustration easily observable among sociologists that they are not being consulted about matters they have spent their lives studying would respound to this therapy. A scientific understanding of relevant human affairs, and the citizen's ability to cope with the great current issues may both be increased, and less disasterous results than have been evident in recent decades may be expected to follow.

Perhaps, a little later, sociologists and other social scientists may have added enough to their own professional stature and to the public's estimate of that stature that they may be entrusted with a role in such great affairs as the relations between states, where quite patently the course of history is made by the visible acts of men or more often by the failure to act.

THE MIDDLE CLASS MALE CHILD AND NEUROSIS

ARNOLD W. GREEN
University of New Hampshire

and Karen Horney's use of general-cultural data to explain neurosis was criticized. It was pointed out that while these two analysts have a concept of cultural neurosis (Horney) and pathological normalcy (Fromm), from which "the culture" is suffering, at the same time a clinical picture of neurosis is presented without reference to culture—the going awry of personal relationships, particularly of the child-infamily. While in her earlier work in this country Dr. Horney found love-frustration the key to the individual etiology of neu-

rosis,2 later, and indicating Dr. Fromm's influence, the key became the arbitrary im-

² Neurotic Personality of Our Time (W. W. Norton & Co., N.Y., 1937, xii and 299 pp.) page 80: The "basic evil is invariably a lack of genuine warmth and affection." Since "love" represents a not too radical departure from "libido" and "Oedipus," it is not surprising that the initial revolt against Freudian theory should find Freudiantrained analysts huddling close to the fence of familiar pastures. See, for example, Adolph Stern, "Psychoanalytic Therapy in the Borderline Neuroses," The Psychoanalytic Quarterly (1945) 14: 190-198. Stern finds "affect-hunger," especially in the relationship of mother and child, the root of borderline neuroses. The revolt probably stems more from a distaste of the moral nihilism implicit in Sigmund Freud's theoretical structure, rather than primarily from a rejection of the theory itself.

¹ Arnold W. Green, "The Sociological Analysis of Horney and Fromm" to be published in the American Journal of Sociology.

position of authority within the family of orientation.3

Two things are being attempted in this paper: first, by a brief discussion of the socialization process taking place in a specific Polish-industrial community to demonstrate the inadequacy of a clinical etiology of neurosis in terms of either love-thwarting or the arbitrary exercise of authority; second, to explain in sociological terms the context in which "lack of genuine love" and "authority" operate to produce neurotic symptoms.

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Sinclair Lewis failed to "see" Sauk Center until he had spent some time at Yale and in New York. Similarly, to evaluate what parts the "lack of genuine love" and "arbitrary authority" in themselves play in the etiology of neurosis a comparison should be made of their effects in different contexts.

The author spent his childhood and young adulthood in a Massachusetts industrial village of some three thousand population, most of which is made up of immigrant Poles and their native-born children. It was previously pointed out how the middle-class norms governing courtship and marriage do not apply within this local Polish colony.⁵

This is also true of parent-child relationships.

The local Polish parents emigrated before marriage from farm villages and small towns in Poland. While the old familistic fradition has been slowly deteriorating in rural Poland for several decades, enough of that tradition was brought with them so that their expectations of their American-born children's conduct reflected an alien peasant system of values.

An outstanding feature of peasant family life, in contradistinction to that of modern middle-class family organization, is the stress placed upon rules and work-functions rather than personal sentiment; and parental authority is excessive by the standards of any comparable segment of the American population. These rules of conduct and this parental authority are out of place in the American industrial slum. Second-generation Poles participate in a social world outside the home which their parents, because of language difficulties and previous condition-

and Sexual Relations," Psychiatry (1941) 4:343-

*"In all the relations between parents and children the familial organization leaves no place for merely personal affection. Certainly this affection exists, but it cannot express itself in socially sanctioned acts. The behavior of the parents toward the children and the contrary must be determined exclusively by their situations as family members, not by individual merits or preferences." (W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Knopf, N.Y.: 1927, Vol. 1, p. 94). In other words, parental authority, while usually unleavened with "love," is based not so much on personal caprice (Fromm's "irrational authority") but mutual respect for common rules of behavior and labor functions within the household unit.

Respect, not love, is the tie that binds in the peasant family. And within a rigid set of rules, parental authority is almost absolute: "... a rebellious child finds nowhere any help, not even in the younger generation, for every member of the family will side with the child's parents if he considers them right, and everyone will feel the familial will behind him and will play the part of a representative of the group" (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 91-92). If the male child's will is considered, it is not because of respect for his individual personality, but because of the increasing power and control the child will assume; he will finally assume the father's place as head of the household.

individual etiology of neurosis and "pathological normalcy," Fromm points to the experience of irrational authority in the family of orientation: see "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis."

Amer. Sociol. Rev. (1944) 9:380-384.

This seems to conform to Robert M. Mac-Iver's dictum: ". . . any effective causal enquiry should be addressed to a specific difference between comparable situations." Page 85 of Social Causation (Ginn & Co., 1942, x and 414 pp.) The question might be raised that "comparable situations" are not being dealt with here, but both Fromm and Horney use "the family" and "the modern family" as generic terms, without differentiation according to class, ethnic group, etc.

Arnold W. Green, "The 'Cult of Personality'

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^{*}New Ways in Psychoanalysis (W. W. Norton & Co., N.Y., 1939, 313 pp.), pp. 75-76. Fromm's position remains more theoretically consistent. In Escape from Freedom (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., N.Y., 1941, ix and 305 pp.) institutional authority as developed in a historical framework is designated as the cause of both neurosis and "normal escapes" in modern western culture; as for the

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ing, are incapable of sharing or even of understanding. As bewildered parents attempt to enforce old-world standards they are met with the anger and ridicule of their children. In answer to this, the parents have final recourse to a kind of authority which was unsanctioned in Poland: a vengeful, personal, irrational authority, which no longer finds support in the future hopes and ambitions of the children; and this new authority is no longer controlled by both parents' families and a cohesive community. But this personal authority will not suffice to curb their wayward progeny, who have little respect for their parents as persons, and who soon come to learn that their "American" playmates are not subjected to anything like it in their homes.

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It is through this tragically antagonistic, mutually distrustful clash of wills that the relations of parents and children tend to be lacking in "love" (which is alien to the peasant *mores* anyway). At the same time, there is plenty of "irrational authority." In exasperation and fear of losing all control over their Americanized youngsters, parents apply the fist and whip rather indiscriminately. The sounds of blows, screams, howls, vexatious wails of torment and hatred are so commonplace along the rows of dilapidated mill-houses that the passerby pays them scant attention.

But those children do not become neurotic. Why? Because parental authority,

however harsh and brutal, is, in a sense, casual and external to the "core of the self." The Polish parents do not have the techniques and opportunity to absorb the personality of the child. In the first place, the child has many models of behavior to adopt both within the family (five to eight children are, in estimate, modal in the Polish section of the village) and outside. Siblings present a more or less united front in their rebellion against their parents. Parent-avoidance techniques are easily acquired because of the parents' halting use of English and the fact that both parents, typically, work in the local factory, leaving the younger children to the daytime supervision of older children, which frequently results in no supervision at all. The open woods and fields are close at hand and the children roam far. The homes

is no adequate answer to the orthodox Freudian's charge that only a Freudian can criticize classical psychonanalysis because only a Freudian can understand it. Admittedly, this is no water-tight rebuttal; about all that can be said here is that the total description of the socialization process taking place in the local Polish community at least leaves open the door to the possibility that many who experienced it did not become neurotic. And it is pertinent to remember that analysts have knowledge of only upper middle-class and upper-class behavior.

According to Horney the neurotic develops one of three trends, or some combination of them: masochistic (making the self small and insignificant). narcissistic (appearing unduly significant to one's self and insatiably craving admiration from others) and perfectionistic (need for others' recognition of the self's infallibility, particularly moral infallibility). These trends are all accessible to direct observation within a field of personal interaction, without psychoanalytic techniques. The only personalitytrend in these Polish youngsters which resembles any of Horney's formulations is the narcissistic; it is not so much "neurotic," however, as sheer crass egocentrism. According to middle-class standards the socialization process has simply been left uncompleted, with but an elementary self- and socialawareness resulting. And it is because these youngsters remain egocentric, with little identification of self with others, that they are spared such neurotic symptoms as anxiety and guilt-feelings. This does not mean they are never unhappy and miserable; far from it, but these feeling-states have nothing in common with the neurotic trends and symptoms described by psychoanalysts, which are all dependent upon intensive identification.

Of course, the argument might be raised that only a psychiatrist could discover the unconscious personality conflicts which were present. There is no adequate answer to this charge, just as there

The author is no psychiatrist, and the reader may wonder at the foolhardiness of making such a statement. Yet in the overt behavior of an entire generation in the village, whom the author has intimately known as children, adolescents, and young adults, there was no expression of anxiety, guilt-feelings, rigidity of response, repressed hostility, and so on, the various symptoms described by Horney as characteristic of the basic neurotic character structure. It is impossible to check directly on the reasons for rejection at the local induction center, yet a Polish informant has assured me there is no known case of army rejection because of psychoneurosis within the local Polish community.

are not particularly clean, nor do they contain bric-a-brac or furniture of any value, so that the local Polish child is spared the endless admonitions which bedevil the middle-class child not to touch this or that.

The children also develop a tolerant or openly malicious contempt for their parents as stupid, unknowing of American ways, concerning which the children regard themselves authorities. By and large, the parents are obstacles to be avoided, or circumvented wherever possible. And while the resulting lack of identification with the parents virtually obviates demonstrations of affection, it also saves the children from feelings of guilt and repressed hostility. The training of the

* Demonstrations of affection are not altogether lacking, but they have little in common with the definitions of parent-child love found in the middle-class women's magazines. A fairly common positive attitude is a fleeting, rather grimly humorous appreciation of the other's alleged shortcomings. On occasions where an expression of sentiment would seem to be appropriate, such as a funeral within the family, parents and children are clumsy, awkward, embarrassed with one another. Too many avenues of approach have been sealed off in the past. Relations with parents tend to improve as the children become economically independent; while extremely rare, it does happen occasionally that a father and his grown son may be observed drinking beer together at one of the tables in the Polish Club. It must be remembered that while the local Polish community is an industrial slum, it is also a rural community, and there is sufficient cohesiveness within it to enforce at least the outward appearance of intra-family solidarity; this is not experienced to any great degree, however, until the children reach young adulthood, and only if they take up residence within the community.

No claim is being made that the early training of all Polish youth in this community is exactly alike, nor that the attitudes of parents and children toward one another are exactly duplicated from family to family. It is here that the "subjective element" in insight (where the observer himself constructs patterns of behavior, at least in part, or merely interprets field-conjuncture?) and in the participant-observer technique becomes potentially dangerous: a single description of a behavior-type or development is applied to various individual personalities, families, situations. And so, in the local Polish community, there is the boy who cripples his father in a fist-fight, runs away from home never to return; another lad, married and raising a

child becomes, then, casual, haphazard, "free" in a sense, very similar to the training received in many primitive tribes, except for the negative other-regarding attitude of parent and child so typical in the village.

II

The claim has been made that "lack of love" and "irrational authority" do not, in and of themselves, cause the development of neurotic symptoms. These phenomena do operate, however, in individual etiologies of neurosis, but only within a certain context. The term "personality absorption" has already been used. Personality absorption is the physical and emotional blanketing of the child, bringing about a slavish dependence upon the parents. It is personality absorption, in conjunction with factors other than lack of love or irrational authority, that produces a certain type of neurosis.

To delineate the kind of socialization which maximizes personality absorption, it will be necessary to conceive of a parental type which simultaneously occupies several population segments: native-white, Protestant urban, college-educated, middle-class.⁹

family of his own, wistfully wishes he "had gotten to know the old folks better." One girl leaves home at sixteen to become a prostitute; another delays marriage to care for an ailing mother. Thus reality, compressed into a single formulation, become distorted.

This is not the place for justification of abstraction. I am convinced, however, that if another observer could spend many years in the village, and find some means of participating in the life of a large number of families representing all groups, as did the author, he would agree that the training of any second-generation Polish child would deviate but slightly from the above general description, while the training of any lower middle-class Protestant child would deviate from that description to a marked degree.

The problem here is defining "middle class" in such a way as to maximize psychological relevance. Robert S. Lynd has defined middle class as that class which is off the economic floor (objective) and conceives of itself as going places (subjective). For present purposes this can be revised as follows: the middle class is that class whose members have welded their attitudes and value into a life-long striving toward an improvement of personal socioeconomic position within the class-structure. By this

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The training of children born to parents who can thus be characterized, is so experientially consistent it has a certain range of predictive value.

Now, how can we define the middle-class child's situation?¹⁰ It has already been said that his personality is "absorbed,"¹¹ and to the extent that it has been absorbed, he is in danger of developing neurotic symptoms. But why is it absorbed?

Perhaps the best way to view his social conditioning is to consider his parents, and their position in relation to him.¹² The father's work takes him far from the place of residence, where most of his associates are only slightly less strangers to him than they are to his family. He is a white-collar worker. As a salesman, office worker, minor

definition the lower class then becomes made up of those who acquiesce to inferior status and the upper class those with an assured superior status. The only "objective criterion" which can be admitted in conjunction with the foregoing definition of middle class is that a given person not be permanently blocked in his striving by reason of race, color, ethnic-group, which are essentially caste elements.

¹⁰ Not only has "middle class" been loosely defined, but also the claim is not being made that all middle-class children are equally affected by the ideal-type conditioning described, which is a deliberate exaggeration of the factor-conjunction which maximizes personality-absorption. In individual cases there will be different combinations of the factors enumerated, as well as deviations from individual factors.

"Fromm's formulation of the "pseudo self" must not be confused with "personality absorption." Fromm views the self as having a dynamism of its own, apart from its social context: the pseudo self arises when the self accepts the ideas, values, and goals of others as its own. The present author accepts no such demarcation of self and social: the self is derived within the given social context; personality absorption occurs when that context is narrowed for the child to include little more than one or two adults.

³² Peculiarly enough, parents are viewed either as constant factors or as the villains in the piece in most discussions of "individual factors" in neurosis. But it is rather important to find out what there is to being a modern middle-class parent that fertilizes the soil of the child's neurosis, however, the individual seed may be planted. It will not suffice to dismiss the matter with "the parents' own neuroses," as does Horney.

bureaucrat, or professional man, his jobtechniques revolve around manipulating the personalities of others, instead of tools. Since he has internalized the supreme middle-class value, individual success, he tries to use his associates as means to further his career: in fact, he has himself been conditioned to view his associates, education, hobbies, intellectual interests, in terms of their possible value to his career.13 On the job he views himself not so much as functionally associated with others in a common purpose, as a self-contained unit establishing "contacts" with others. His work relations are not defined in fixed terms of status and role to the extent that they were in the past for he is on the move, or views himself in that way. He has, then, a well-developed tendency to view his relations with others in terms of what he, as a mobile, displaced person, can get out of them.

Yet the modern middle-class father cannot use his child either in the new sense of manipulating others to his own advantage, nor, be it noted, in the ways available in the past. In the old rural-familistic system, the child served well three predominant interests of the father: he would soon work on the farm, or during the earlier days of the industrial revolution, in the factory, become an economic asset to the father in other words; he would provide economic security in the father's old age; 14 and finally, he would provide psychological security by preserving the family name, a form of thisworldly immortality in a society which made the family the primary repository of most social values.

In terms of dollars alone, the cost of

¹² See Arnold W. Green, "Duplicity," Psychiatry (1943) 6:411-424.

This obligation, as an individual experience, is fast passing. See Robert M. Dinkel, "Attitudes of Children Toward Supporting Aged Parents," Amer. Sociol. Rev. (1944) 9:370-379. The government bureaus are planning old-age assistance benefits on the assumption that an increasing proportion of the aged will fail to secure support from their children. See W. S. Woytinsky, Labor in the United States, (Social Science Research Council, Washington, 1938, xxii and 333 pp.).

raising a modern middle-class child represents a serious threat to the personal ambition of the father.15 At the very time when, in terms of his primary success-goal, he should have time and money available for further study if a professional man, money for clothes, entertaining, household furniture and an automobile for purposes of presenting a "front" in any event; at this time when his career is in its initial and hence its crucial stage, the presence of the child represents a diversion of energy and funds, so long, of course, as the career remains his primary goal. A certain degree of ambivalence directed toward the child is inevitable. Not the depth, but the present height of the middle-class birth-rate is the noteworthy phenomenon, indicating an amazing vitality of the old rural-familistic values which find little support in modern social structure.

With the advancing individuation of modern society, not only has individual success become a supreme value, but also individual, hedonistic enjoyment. The child again presents an interference with most of the recreation available to the middle-class father, for whether commercialized (movies, sports events, plays) or social (golf, bridge, tennis, dinner parties), these are designed not for family-wide participation, but individual- or couple-participation.

In conjunction with the above factors, the growing middle-class emphasis upon "scientific child care" and the child's higher education, further increase the father's duties and obligations, while his rights steadily

diminish. What emerges from his total situation is an ambivalence toward his child which is more or less widespread, though very rarely admitted, even with confidantes. ¹⁷ Finally, children interfere with the companion and partner roles of husband and wife, which are more and more displacing the traditional patriarchal and housewife-and-mother roles. ¹⁸

And how about the mother? She enters marriage and perhaps bears a child with no definite role and series of functions, as formerly. Her old role within the patriarchal family, with its many functions, its economic and emotional security, its round of community participations, is lost, but no well-defined role has taken its place. She feels inferior to men because comparatively she has been and is more restricted. If she works after marriage she faces sex discrimination on the job and perhaps her husband's criticism if his traditional role of bread-winner is important to him.

Half-seriously she prepared for a career prior to marriage, half-seriously because a career is regarded by most middle-class girls as insurance against the grim possibility they will not be married; through a "good" marriage (the folk phrase "she married well"

¹⁸ See Willard Waller, The Family (Cordon,

N.Y., 1938, 621 pp.)

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¹⁸ Basing their estimates on a family income of \$2,500, Dublin and Lotka figure that the parents spend between \$9,180 and \$10,485 in rearing a child through the age of 18. (Quoted in Kingsley Davis, "Reproductive Institutions and the Pressure for Population," Sociological Rev. (1937) 29: I-18—a British publication).

Method The child must not be spanked, parents should be "patient" with him, his ego-growth must not be curbed, etc. The assumption of much of the child-care literature seems to be that the parents have a combined culinary, nursing, and psychiatric function, and nothing more. But note that in a mobile, industrial, specialized job-world, with its emphasis upon contractual relations, that cooks, nurses, and psychiatrists are paid for what they do.

¹⁷ It would be impossible to ascertain directly the extent of this ambivalence. Asking a man whether or not he approves of the Bretton Woods Proposal differs from asking him whether he loves his little daughter-to be indicated on a ten-point scale. It differs, first, because Bretton Woods is relatively extraneous to the core of the self and is publicly defined as something upon which one may express a wide divergence of opinion, and, second, because a man's attitude toward his daughter is made up of a series of personal experiences, some delightful, others not, all complicated by a cultural compulsive to repress consciousness of ambivalence toward one's own children. Recall George Babbitt: of course he loved his wife, Myra, and sometimes he almost liked her!

³⁹ The extent of the actual emancipation of women has been commonly exaggerated. Within all classes in our culture, as in all other cultures, women are trained to regard themselves as inferior to men in some degree. It is usually desired that the first child shall be a boy, by wife as well as husband.

refers not to personality adjustment but to the bank balance and career prospects of the husband) the middle-class girl attains far more status than is possible through a career of her own. But the period of phantasy dalliance with a career, or an embarkation upon one, leave her ill-fitted for the drudgery of housecleaning, diapers, and the preparation of meals. The freedom which the urban apartment and modern household devices have brought the middle-class housewife has been commonly misinterpreted as well as exaggerated. While the Victorian housewife had more work to do, that work was part of a well-integrated system of household and community activities. While the modern middle-class housewife has more leisure-time than either her mother or grandmother, she must still work at a number of household jobs for which she has not been trained, which are usually not an essential part of her value-system, and which are isolated from her social activities. One sociologist has expressed this dilemma facetiously: half her working day is spent doing something she does not like, the rest is spent thinking up ways of getting even with her husband. The resulting boredom frequently leads to a period of indecision early in the marriage over whether to have children or resume the career. This internal conflict has been wellexpressed by Thompson:

In the present economic situation in the United States increase of population is not desired. The fact that small families are the rule is one of the factors driving women out of the home. Now that they are not in the home a kind of vicious circle is formed, for it is no longer convenient to be occupied in the home by one or two children. Much conflict centers here, for it is one of the problems of the culture which as yet has no generally satisfactory solution. Individual women have worked out ways of having both children and a career, but most women still do one or the other; and in either case there are regrets and often neurotic discontent . . . the problem is not solved by going to the other extreme and trying to prove one's adequacy by having a child or two. The women of past generations had no choice but to bear children. Since their lives were organized around

this concept of duty, they seldom became aware of dislike of the situation. . . . Nowadays, when women have a choice, the illusion is to the effect that unwanted children are less common, but women still from neurotic compulsion bear children they cannot love.²⁰

And so it is inevitable that the child shall be viewed with some degree of ambivalence by both father and mother, for he represents a direct interference with most of the dominant values and compulsions of the modern middle class: career, social and economic success, hedonistic enjoyment. There is some doubt that under modern middle-class conditions, children automatically bring husband and wife closer together.²¹

To return to the consideration of the middle-class child. Personality absorption takes place against a background of parental ambivalence. The mother has little to do, in or out of the home; she is her single child's sole companion.²² Modern "scientific child

²⁰ Clara Thompson, "The Role of Women in This Culture," *Psychiatry* (1941) 4:1-8, p. 6.

²¹ See Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage (Prentice-Hall, Inc., N.Y., 1939, xxiii and 472 pp.), esp. page 413. In their sample they found a slight negative correlation between number of children and self-rating of marital adjustment. Lewis M. Terman, et. al., Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness (McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1938, xiv and 474 pp.) apparently remain unaware that their characterization of "Happily married women," derived from statistical manipulations, is a classic statement of the middle-class Victorian housewife-and-mother role. If "happiness" for married women must be something founded in a fading tradition the future looks black. Fortunately, Terman and associates have probably not established isolable unit-factors; instead, sifted elements out of a total middle-class cultural setting which is rapidly changing, i.e., their "factors" may not be applicable in the immediate future.

The addition of one more child, which is the outside limit in most middle-class homes, probably does nothing to diminish the possibility of the first child's developing a neurosis if there is an appreciable gap in their ages, because of the likelihood of sibling rivalry. See David M. Levy, Maternal Overprotection. (Columbia University Press, N.Y. 1943, ix and 417 pp.) Levy's valuable monograph has not been used in the present discussion because Levy conceives of the overprotective mother as a person who has voluntarily

care" enforces a constant supervision and diffused worrying over the child's health, eating spinach, and ego-development; this is complicated by the fact that much energy is spent forcing early walking, toilet-training, talking, because in an intensively competitive milieu middle-class parents from the day of birth on are constantly comparing their own child's development with that of the neighbors' children. The child must also be constantly guarded from the danger of contacting various electrical gadgets and from kicking valuable furniture. The middleclass child's discovery that the living-room furniture is more important to his mother than his impulse to crawl over it, unquestionably finds a place in the background of the etiology of a certain type of neurosis, however absurd it may appear.

Under constant supervision, with limited play-area in a house touching other homes on all sides, or in an apartment, and lacking companions, the child's physiological expansiveness, fed by his boredom, persists in getting him into trouble: screaming, running around the apartment, upsetting daddy's shaving mug, rending teddy-bear in two, emptying his milk on the rug to observe what pattern will be formed. This "trouble" is all a matter of definition. Similar behavior, in modified form, would not be interpreted in primitive society as "trouble," and neither would it be by Polish parents in the community above described.

Already the parents have made "love" of supreme importance in their relation to the child, theirs for him and his for them, partly because of the love-complex of our time, which is particularly ramified within the middle class, ²³ and partly as a compensation

renounced the world and all its works to devote her entire life to the sacred cause of her own child; the "middle-class mother" is here conceived as a type which has not resolved a conflict between "duty" and individualism. The latter is much more common.

²² Children are being more and more regarded by young middle-class couples as a symbol of romantic consummation. "And soon we'll be three," the popular song goes; the child is, then, considered more in terms of being a product of

for the many sacrifices they have made for the child, long debated before and after its arrival. The child's need for love is experienced precisely because he has been conditioned to need it. That the need is biological seems unlikely.²⁴ Now, the more ambivalent

wedded egos than of having an integral place of his own in a family unit. Also, as parents no longer secure economic good and security from children, the affectional element is stepped up to give the parents a reason for having children. In fact, William F. Ogburn has made affection his only hope for preserving our present family form.

24 Margarethe Ribble, in "Disorganizing Factors of Infant Personality," American Journal of Psychiatry (1941) 98:459-463; says: "There is a necessity for a long and uninterrupted period of consistent and skillful 'psychological mothering' by one individual. This must continue at least until speech is well-developed and the child has acquired a feeling of self-security and voluntary control of his body equilibrium. . . . It seems that the tone of the gastro-intestinal tract in this early period depends in some special way on reflex stimulation from the periphery. Thus the touch of the mother has a definite, biological implication in the regulation of the breathing and nutritive functions of the child" (Page 463). Two things should be noted here: while a certain amount of handling during infancy by one person may be necessary, that person need not be the biological mother; and it would be difficult to measure the extent of

There are several excellent empirical studies of the socialization process now available and in all of them a great deal is made of the child's need for love and affection. But in every single instance studied the child had either been early conditioned to regard love as the most important thing in the world, or had had the opportunity of observing other youngsters receiving something which he did not have. This is not to deny that some affirmation of personal ties to others in primarygroup relationships, if not a biological need, is at least universal, but it is doubtful that it need be the type of parent-child love discussed in such studies. Primitive children, brought up in large dwelling-units among many kinsmen, in a sense spread thin their affection over a wide area, and this affection is relatively less in total intensity as well. Polish children, in the village above described, receive short shrift from their mothers when they begin to walk, and even during infancy there is little dandling and cooing; in fact, after weaning, the child is most frequently literally handed over to the eldest daughter who gives the child the strictest minimum of attention. Among the siblings there is little demonstrativeness: there is, however, the

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the parents are toward the child, the more seriously is the "trouble" he causes them interpreted. He should not act in such a way because of the sacrifices they have made in his behalf, and the least he can do is show his gratitude by "loving" them in turn, i.e., keeping out of "trouble." When the trouble inevitably occurs, the most effective punishment imaginable is the threat to withdraw their love from him. He "needs" that love because his personality has been absorbed by these two persons, because he has been conditioned to have a slavish-emotional dependence upon them. Not the need for parental love, but the constant threat of its withdrawal after the child has been conditioned to the need, lies at the root of the most characteristic modern neurosis. Mamma won't like you if you don't eat your spinach, or stop dribbling your milk, or get down from that davenport. To the extent that a child's personality has been absorbed, he will be thrown into a panic by this sort of treatment, and develop guilt-feelings to help prevent himself from getting into further trouble. In such a child a disapproving glance may produce more terror than a twentyminute lashing in little Stanislaus Wojcik.

The threat of love-withdrawal is usually the mother's technique for controlling the child. At first the father may threaten to withdraw love, but as the child grows older the father finds a more subtle control—the expression of disapproval. The child is limited to his parents for modelling his behavior. While very young, he wants to set the table and sweep the floor "like mummy." In a few years standards of manly conduct are imposed and he wants to do things "like daddy." The father now controls him through the child's new self-conception, and it is not so much the use of "authority" as threatening the child's self-respect.²⁵ The

child is not a person who amounts to very much, how does he ever expect to get along when he gets old enough to go to school, or loin the Boy Scouts, or go to college, or get a job? Again, to the extent that the child's personality has been absorbed, he will be made to feel small, insignificant, unworthy. And, feeling absorbed, caught and helpless, must propitiate these combined god-monsters that he needs so desperately. Hence anxiety, guilt-feelings, the sense of inferiority; seek security at all costs for he is living alone and afraid, in a world he never made.²⁶

As for authority, its exercise generates neurotic symptoms only under two conditions, both of which must be present; close identification of the child with at least one parent; the effective blocking-off of all avenues of authority-avoidance for twentyfour hours of the day. Neither of these conditions is met in the Polish homes described, and thus while the authority wielded by Polish parents is far more "irrational" (as defined by Fromm) than that likely to be encountered in many middle-class homes, neuroses are not developed. Indeed, it seems unlikely that Fromm's differentiation between rational and irrational authority has much psychological relevance. The child is hardly in a position to understand when authority is ". . . based on the competency

J. Shaw, for long stimulating conversations about his work at the University of New Hampshire Psychological Clinic. He states that male students seeking psychotherapy invariably recall ridicule and ego-attacks by the father during the period of first testing male roles.

As for the "authority" formulation, is it not possible that it may be subsumed under "love withdrawal"? From the child's point of view, even corporal punishment becomes unbearable primarily because it represents the father's withdrawal of love and support. During adolescence, authority as such does become a problem for the child, but the "normal" child suffers from it then as much, and oftentimes more, than does the neurotic.

²⁶ All middle-class children certainly do not become neurotic. But to the extent that their experience approaches the polar type described, they will tend to. This picture is often exaggerated by the parents' own unacknowledged hostile impulses toward the child, stemming from the individualistic values and strivings described.

fierce loyalty of an in-group on the defensive; this loyalty comprises the principal matrix for the imposition of the actual moral code by which they live. Describing "genuine love" in and of itself as a necessity for preventing neurosis is sociologically naive.

²⁸ I am immeasurably indebted to Dr. Franklin

of the person in authority to function properly with respect to the task of guidance he has to perform . . . "27 and when it is ". . . based on the power which the authority has over those subjected to it and on the fear and awe with which the latter reciprocate."28 Perhaps the Polish children do not experience irrational authority exactly as defined by Fromm, for while they fear parental authority they also are hostile toward and contemptuous of their parents, and thus are not in awe of them. Nevertheless, the important differentiation is not between rational and irrational authority but the extent to which any parental authority succeeds in absorbing the child's personality, which is itself dependent upon factors other than the imposition of arbitrary authority.

Yet when we have used the term "personality absorption" we have not by any means explained a neurosis etiology. The personality of the middle-class girl of the late nineteenth century was "absorbed" by her parents, she was subjected to the demands of "love" and unquestioning obedience, at least ideally; nevertheless, the rate of neurosis under those conditions was probably not too high, as nearly as can be judged at this later date. Why? Because she was not faced with inconsistent expectations of conduct on the part of others and herself. Because love and obedience were integrated within a role which changed relatively slightly from childhood into adolescence, courtship, and finally into marriage. In other words, her initial goals and self-conceptions were constantly re-enforced with each new life experience.

The modern middle-class child on the other hand, particularly the boy, who has found surcease from anxiety and guilt by blind obedience and "love" for his parents, is not allowed to stabilize his relationships with others on that basis. His play-group, which may be denied him until he has reached school age, makes him feel a certain

If the abstraction "ours is a competitive society" is translated into terms of what happens to the child born to modern middleclass parents, it becomes quite relevant to the present discussion. Before the child has developed a real self-awareness he becomes part of a process of invidious comparison with other families: he uttered his first word two months earlier than the Jones' boy; he weighed so many pounds at the end of his first year. At Sunday School he received the Bible for perfect attendance; at public school his grades in arithmetic were higher than two-thirds of the other members of the class. He may take piano lessons in view of the day when Mrs. Smythe's pupils will be on public exhibition before the parents of the neighborhood. Everything he accomplishes or fails to accomplish becomes an inevitable part of the family's attempt to maintain or improve its standing in the community.

But effective competition demands a certain degree of independence, firmness of purpose, perhaps aggressiveness. Even for the "normal" middle-class child the transition from submission to some degree of independent behavior is made difficult.³⁰ And

* Ibid., loc. cit.

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shame and inadequacy in attempting to approach its members with familiar techniques.²⁹ He also early discovers that he is involved in competition with others, as an individual with his contemporaries, and as a representative of his family unit with other families.

The play-group has immeasurable sociological significance for it is secondary in importance only to the family of orientation in the socialization process. Unfortunately, the only good empirical studies of the play-group available are of institutionalized children or slum children whose gang behavior is regarded as a social problem.

See Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Psychiatry* (1938) 1:161-167. On page 161 appears this statement:

[&]quot;From a comparative point of view our culture goes to great extremes in emphasizing contrasts between the child and the adult. The child is sexless, the adult estimates his virility by his sexual activities; the child must be protected from the ugly facts of life, the adult must meet them without psychic catastrophe; the child must obey, the adult must command this obedience."

²⁷ Erich Fromm, "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis," American Sociological Review (1944) 9:380-384; page 381.

for the child whose personality has been absorbed, an especially exacerbated conflict arises. He is expected to "do things," to accomplish, perhaps to lead in some endeavor, like other children, but his earliest social conditioning was dependence, submission, inferiority; his accomplishments, if any, are on a god-scale-in phantasy. He is desperately attempting to stabilize all later relationships on the basis of his earliest conditioning. Any pressure to compete only exaggerates his anxiety, guilt, and feelings of inadequacy. Life in the modern middle-class home insures that he shall feel that pressure.

There are, then, three elements in the etiology of what has been called the most characteristic neurosis of modern society; personality absorption; the reiterated threat to withdraw a love which has been made of paramount importance; a conflict between the resulting initial adjustment of submissive propitiation and the later assumption of goals of achievement and roles of independent action.

The child is not able to establish an integrated self-conception. Propitiation has meant obedience and "love" for the parents, leading to a compulsive repression of selfwill. But he soon discovers that propitiation, in the sense of meeting new parental expectancies, means exhibiting independence, selfassertiveness, aggressiveness, outside the home. The father, as the child's mediator of the outside male world, rather than the mother, makes this demand uncompromisingly which may, incidentally, be one of the unsuspected sources of the so-called

oedipus complex. This seems more than likely since male neurotics often recall facing the father's ridicule of their first fumbling efforts to meet the father's expectations of "manly" conduct.

With the new conflicting expectations, on the part of parents and contemporaries, the child's anxiety reaches new heights, a double set of guilt-feelings appear where previously there was only one: at first he felt guilty only if he failed to love and obey, and this guilt could be assuaged by the propitiation of submission; now, however, the god-monsters will be appeased only by a combination of submission in his role of child-in-family, and assertiveness in his playgroup, school-pupil, and other roles enacted outside of home. An integration of these conflicting roles is impossible. His conception of himself becomes one of abject failure. Any striving is painful for it violates the initial submissive adjustment. But he feels equally guilty for not making the effort to achieve. This is a key to much of his contradictory and self-blocking behavior: his desire to be the last man in the last regiment and his desire to conquer the world; his demand that everyone shall love him, and his settled conviction that no one could love a person as base as he; his inability to erect a hierarchy of values; his endless debate over the value of his own goals. He is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't. He is embraced by a psychological Iron Maiden: any lunge forward or backward only impales him more securely on the spikes.

COMPARATIVE HEALTH FACTORS AMONG THE STATES

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Chicago

THE PURPOSE of this study is to present a picture of conditions among the 48 states of the United States with respect to such interrelated factors as health conditions, sanitation, physical defects, medical facilities, economic resources and environmental forces. The health of a population depends upon many factors such as income, education, sanitary and medical facilities, culture, social control, climate and special phases of the environment.) Not only will analysis of these factors define the real health problems of the states but it will also shed light upon the health problem of the nation. Statistics as to health-related conditions are necessary materials for planning systems of medical care and sanitation.

The present method is to select and test out statistics which may function as health indices among the states. Such indices are useful in making comparisons and evaluations with reference to both time and place. They are units of measurement for comparing and analyzing health conditions among regions, counties, cities and states and therefore, devices for discovering and defining existent problems.

There are three major factors in health conditions: (1) The organic processes—these are the mental and physiological processes in the life-career of the organism which act upon the environment or else in response to environment influences; (2) The environmental influences and factors—consisting of climate, food supply, infection and contagion, and the natural acts of others; and (3) The control agencies—these include both individual and social control and take concrete form in medical facilities, sanitary controls, health education and police powers to control contagion.

¹ 9th Annual Report of Social Security Board, p. 26. These processes and factors operate to cause, delay or prevent morbidity and mortality. The mechanisms include both physiological and mental elements. Control agencies may be curative or preventive, or both. These major factors operate interdependently in society. Generally, there is a concerted attack upon health problems with a variety of controls. Deficiencies or declines in certain factors will lead to resultant changes in others, viz. a deficiency or decrease in economic resources may mean a decrease or lack of sanitary facilities.

Methods of Study. Material was compiled and health indices set up within the following seven major categories: I Populationtotal, urban, large families, non-white population, and aged persons; II Mortality Rates and Draft Rejections-infant deaths, death rates from heart disease, tuberculosis, infectious and contagious diseases, and draft rejections; III Sanitation-dwelling units without sewerage connections and dwelling units in need of major repairs; IV Medical Facilities-physicians, dentists, nurses, hospital beds, and health expenditures; V Health Insurance—health and accident (casualty) insurance, prepaid medical care, and Blue Cross prepaid hospitalization; VI Economic Resources—wealth, income and savings; and VII Culture-illiteracy, high school enrollment, school expenditures, expenditures for recreation, and professional persons in the labor force. Other indices might have been used but only those with complete and accurate statistics for all the states were selected. Thus, food inspections is a valuable health index but complete data for all states are lacking; and, also, their values as an index depend upon the nature of environment in a state,

Table I is a complete compilation of the above indices expressed in averages for the several states and in such rates as are best States

U.S.A Ala. Ariz. Ark. Calif. Colo. Conn. Del. Fla. Ga.

Idaho

III.

Ind.

Iowa Kan. Ky. La. Me. Md. Mass. Mich. Minn. Miss. Mo. Mont. Nebr. Nev. N.H. N.I. N.M. N.Y. N.C. N.D.

Ohio
Okla.
Oreg.
Pa.
R.I.
S.C.
S.D.
Tenn.
Tex.
Utah
Vt.
Va.
Wash.
W.Va.

Wis.

Wyo.

TABLE I. HEALTH RELATED FACTORS AMONG THE STATES—1940*

		Popu	lation		Mortality					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 D	8 eaths Fro	om 9	10
States	Total	Urban	Large Fami- lies	Non- White	Persons over 65	Infant Deaths	Heart Disease	Tuber- culosis	Infec- tious Conta- gious Diseases	Draft Rejec- tions
U.S.A.	131,006,184	56.5%	6.4%	10.2%	6.9%	47	294.0	46.1	6.1	30.8
Ala.	2,832,961	30.2	12.1	34.7	4.8	61	179.6	53.0	15.6	41.9
Ariz.	499,261	34.8	9.9	14.5	4.7	84	185.4	142.9	15.2	36.5
Ark.	1,949,387	22.2	10.2	24.8	5.5	46	147.4	52.3	20.3	42.3
Calif.	6,907,387	71.0	3.3	4.5	8.0	39	353.2	56.2	3.4	28.4
Colo.	1,123,296	52.6	6.3	1.5	7.7	60	259.6	44.5	5.3	33-7
Conn.	1,709,242	67.8	4.2	1.9	7.6	34	354.4	36.2	.8	22.2
Del.	266,505	52.3	5.5	13.5	7.7	49	346.0	50.3	4.5	22.5
Fla.	1,897,414	55.1	6.0	27.2	6.9	54	240.6	51.1	9.7	46.2
Ga.	3,123,723	34.4	11.1	34.7	5.1	58	192.5	50.0	11.8	42.4
Idaho	524,873	33.7	7.6	1.0	6.0	42	226.1	18.3	4.4	24.5
III.	7,897,241	73.6	4.1	5.0	7.2	35	354.3	47.3	3.6	22.5
Ind.	3,427,796	55.1	5.7	3.6	8.4	42	320.3	40.9	5.4	25.1
Iowa		-	-	-	-		281.9	17.6	3.1	29.1
Kan.	2,538,268	42.7	5.7	.7	8.9	37			3.8	21.4
	1,801,028	41.9	5.6	3.7	8.7	38	276.8	25.0		
Ky.	2,845,627	29.8	10.8	7.5	6.6	53	232.9	68.7	12.7	32.9
La.	2,363,880	41.5	9.9	36.0	5.0	64	256.0	58.4	15.6	46.1
Me.	847,226	40.5	7.2	.4	9.5	54	362.6	30.7	4.5	27.4
Md.	1,821,244	59.3	6.1	16.6	6.8	50	348.3	72.8	5-4	25.6
Mass.	4,316,721	89.4	5.0	1.4	8.5	37	412.9	37.1	1.4	24.9
Mich.	5,256,106	65.7	6.0	4.2	6.3	41	296.8	34.1	2.5	26.4
Minn.	2,792,300	49.8	6.8	.9	7.7	33	262.2	26.7	2.0	26.0
Miss.	2,183,796	19.8	11.9	49.3	5.3	54	166.1	50.0	19.0	40.0
Mo.	3,784,664	51.8	5.5	6.5	8.6	47	296.3	46.5	7.I	27.9
Mont.	559,456	37.8	6.3	3.4	6.5	46	258.6	41.3	3.9	32.2
Vebr.	1,315,834	39.1	5.8	1.4	7.9	36	246.4	17.5	3.0	24. I
Nev.	110,247	39.3	2.9	5.6	6.2	52	306.4	70.9	5.5	28.5
N.H.	491,524	57.6	5.1	. 1	9.9	40	408.1	23.0	3.3	22.9
N.J.	4,160,165	81.6	3.6	5.6	6.7	36	357-3	44.4	2.0	25.4
V.M.	531,818	33.2	13.6	7.4	4.4	100	116.0	66.7	18.4	33.7
N.Y.	13,479,142	82.8	3.5	4.4	6.8	37	385.9	45.7	1.9	29.0
V.C.	3,571,623	27.1	13.1	28.1	4.5	57	166.2	45.0	8.1	45.0
V.D.	641,935	20.6	10.3	1.6	6.2	45	210.4	19.5	5.5	23.8
Ohio	6,907,612	66.8	4.9	4.9	7.9	41	318.7	40.9	3.7	28.9
lkla.	2,336,434	37.6	8.4	9.9	6.1	50	172.6	49.1	9.5	30.0
reg.	1,089,684	48.8	3-5	1.2	8.5	33	304.6	28.3	2.8	22.0
a.	9,900,180	66.5	5.8	4.7	6.9	45	346.8	42.9	2.9	26.0
R.I.	713,346	91.6	4.2	1.6	7.5	38	376.6	34.5	1.5	25.2
.C.	1,899,804	24.5	13.9	43.0	4.2	68	190.2	48.0	15.8	43.8
.D.		24.6			6.8		212.0	31.1	2.2	25.6
enn.	642,961		7.9	3.7		39	188.2	75.8	10.3	37.8
	2,915,841	35.2	9.5	17.4	5.9	55	187.1		12.7	-
ex.	6,414,824	45.4	7.7	14.4	5.4	69	-	59.5		36.9
Jtah	550,310	55.5	9.4	1.3	5.5	41	244.0	17.1	3.8	21.1
t.	359,231	34.3	7.6	. I	9.6	45	392.2	43.4	2.2	23.4
a.	2,677,773	35.3	10.4	24.7	5.8	59	294.4	58.8	8.7	41.1
Vash.	1,736,191	53.1	3.7	2.2	8.3	36	338.7	39.9	2.9	24.3
V.Va.	1,901,974	28. I	11.8	6.2	5.3	54	186.3	46.4	10.9	27.2
Vis.	3,137,587	53 - 5	6.1	.8	7.7	37	296.1	25.6	2.2	28.9
Vyo.	250,742	37.3	5.8	1.7	5.0	46	207.8	17.9	3.2	24.3

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

TABLE I-Continued

Sanitation				Med	ical Fac	ilities		Hea	lth Insura	ance
States	111	12 Defec-	13	14 Populat	15 ion Per	16	17 Health	18 Health &	19 Prepaid	Blue Cross
	Sewer- age	tive Housing	Physi- cian	Dentist	Nurse	Hospi- tal Bed	Expend- itures	Accident Insurance	Medical Care	Hospital- ization Plans
U.S.A.	35.5%	18.3%	748	1860	355	283	\$1.06	\$2.43	33	14.0
Ala.	70.8	37.0	1365	4683	847	412	1.11	1.45	100	5.4
Ariz.	47.8	15.2	841	3263	321	205	1.83	2.19	48	1.9
Ark.	78.5	39.1	1066	5077	1011	565	.83	.79	13	_
Calif.	10.3	8.5	580	1268	240	187	1.40	4.60	89	3.3
Colo.	41.6	25.7	572	1466	293	197	1.20	2.18	72	29.4
Conn.	9.2	9.1	658	1575	218	269	1.15	4.45	2	29.5
Del.	32.4	13.7	786	2538	288	238	1.32	2.99	31	39.7
Fla.	37.7	19.7	834	2646	380	302	1.73	1.53	25	.7
Ga.	66.1	28.4	1106	3786	671	485	1.01	1.38	4	1.8
Idaho	54.7	25.0	1241	2441	472	339	1.15	1.17	-	-
Ill.	24.1	15.7	648	1323	335	277	.83	4.08	13	16.1
Ind.	43.6	17.7	830	1889	467	403	.75	3.99	14	3.9
Iowa	47.5	19.7	823	1564	452	356	.79	2.03	2	8.9
Kan.	52.6	27.8	870	1778	443	277	.88	2.38	-	7.4
Ky.	66.2	29.4	1031	3575	739	538	.98	1.88	-	4.7
La.	60.8	24.2	960	3000	544	273	1.24	1.75	15	6.2
Me.	39.0	22.7	854	2241	307	287	.88	2.07		16.1
Md.	29.1	14.0	610	2086	279	237	1.30	3.03	20	16.1
Mass.	6.0	9.2	547	1530	196	192	1.28	2.26	2	29.6
Mich.	27.2	14.0	826	1978	370	238	1.32	6.46	100	24.2
Minn.	42.5	16.4	792	1344	286	251	.85	2.11	29	25.1
Miss.	81.3	33.6	1459	5212	1036	652	.98	.72	4	
Mo.	47.4	19.9	714	1651	452	316	-77	2.04	42	19.6
Mont.	52.9	23.3	1042	2020	324	180	1.16	1.61	-	3.5
Nebr.	49.4	19.6	805	1430	450	286	.58	4.79	48	4.2
Nev.	38.9	16.6	660	2004	379	162	2.35	3.17	_	3.3
N.H.	23.4	12.3	749	2194	235	220	1.08	1.98	-	12.7
V.J.	8.9	12.0	716	1547	282	294	1.38	2.50	3	18.5
N.M.	68.6	24.2	1211	4665	150	226	1.62	5.28	-	_
V.Y.	8.3	9.1	492	1314	240	223	1.30	2.31	16	25.4
V.C.	65.6	30.6	1304	4533	560	426	1.25	1.27	18	10.8
V.D.	72.9	33.7	1239	2450	415	252	1.01	1.17	-	7.6
Ohio	27.I	15.8	741	1831	366	352	.84	3.66	7	31.6
kla.	59.9	34.5	996	3140	716	397	-77	1.50	27	5.6
reg.	30.1	16.6	746	1305	298	266	1.34	3.86	159	4.1
enn.	24.I	16.3	732	1664	334	282	.67	2.40	12	20.0
R.I.	9.2	7.6	742	1892	308	239	1.08	1.55	_	41.0
.C.	68.7	22.7	1355	5263	615	435	.99	1.23	-	
.D.	67.0	25.9	1266	2122	459	256	.96	.96	-	8.9
enn.	64.9	30.1	1003	3455	608	464	1.19	2.27	-	1.0
ex.	54.1	23.4	931	3174	549	415	.75	2.29	11	1.9
tah	31.5	21.0	957	1798	407	288	1.37	2.17	16	2.I
t.	28.8	21.0	687	2363	273	237	1.33	1.71	-	12.7
a.	56.5	23.3	927	3173	464	324	1.03	1.84	3	7.2
Vash.	25.8	13.4	789	1376	293	232	1.05	2.93	146	4.2
V.Va.	58.2	27.4	1037	3186	602	359	.72	2.59	9	4.4
Vis.	37.1	16.0	891	1484	381	261	.92	2.70	21	12.5
Vyo.	51.7	24.4	915	2022	473	193	1.94	1.63	7	-

* No Census

Sta

U.S Ala Ari Ari Cal Col Col Del Fla

Ga. Ida Ill. Ind

Iow Kan Ky La. Med Min Mis Mo Mo Mo Net N.H N.J N.M. N.Y N.C. Ten Tex Utal Vt. Va. Wass W.V Wis. Wyo

TABLE I-Continued

	Econ	omic Reso	urces			Culture		
States	Wealth Per Cap.	Income Per Cap.	23 Savings Per Cap.	24 Illiteracy	25 High School	26 School Expenditure	27 Recrea- tion	28 Profes- sional Worker
U.S.A.	\$2335	\$575	\$156	4.3%	26.0%	77.52	\$.74	27.I
Ala.	1056	268	36	12.6	15.3	30.52	.15	14.8
Ariz.	2200	473	60	10.1	20.3	82.37	.36	26.7
Ark.	803	252	24	6.8	16.4	29.17	.07	14.6
Calif.	2516	805	315	2.6	29.3	149.81	1.53	37.5
Colo.	2084	524	84	2.8	25.7	88.18	.82	29.7
Conn.	3127	827	552	4.5	29.7	94.15	1.20	32.5
Del.	3011	896	314	4.0	26.7	80.75	.37	31.4
Fla.	1347	471	43	7.1	22.I	64.26	.55	24.6
Ga.	1079	315	40	9.4	18.1	33.65	. 20	17.3
Idaho	2706	440	58	1.1	28.4	75.14	.13	23.2
Ill.	2668	726	138	2.4	29.3	97.62	1.30	29.3
Ind.	2536	541	101	1.7	28.9	79.98	.54	23.4
Iowa	2613	485	95	.8	27.3	82.01	-34	25.3
Kan.	2380	422	44	1.2	29.I	84.67	. 26	26.6
Ky.	1404	308	52	6.6	16.8	35-39	.18	16.4
La.	1219	-	63		22.1			10.4
Me.		357	298	13.5		45.49 52.28	.43	-
Md.	2404	509		2.7	24.I			23.2
	2505	712	241	3.8	24.2	66.68	-73	28.7
Mass.	2719	766	590	3.5	30.9	87.52	1.15	33.4
Mich.	2676	649	133	2.0	26.3	89.09	-73	25.8
Minn.	1900	509	143	1.3	28.8	83.05	.77	26.7
Miss.	728	202	33	13.1	12.1	26.15	.03	14.0
Mo.	2004	505	82	2.3	24.5	66.92	.78	24.2
Mont.	3757	574	75	1.7	29.2	92.63	.16	27.I
Nebr.	2344	433	49	1.2	30.9	67.18	.27	27.3
Nev.	6173	836	151	4.4	25.7	135.50	-44	33.0
N.H.	2519	546	470	2.7	28.6	66.80	.64	26.3
N.J.	2413	803	295	3.8	30.3	123.68	1.32	33.6
N.M.	1484	356	26	13.3	18.3	69.95	.13	22.2
N.Y.	3893	863	571	3.7	32.6	131.98	1.59	36.7
N.C.	1343	316	33	10.0	23.6	41.77	.13	16.7
N.D.	2362	368	45	1.5	24.4	60.84	.07	23.3
Ohio	2486	643	161	2.3	30.1	87.40	.49	26.4
Okla.	1521	356	33	2.8	24.9	57.90	.14	22.8
Oreg.	2606	579	112	1.0	30.4	93.27	.49	29.3
Penn.	2564	628	245	3.1	30.2	77.88	.57	25.4
R.I.	3011	715	480	4.9	28.1	84.99	1.02	27.5
S.C.	1207	286	18	14.9	18.2	35.57	.10	16.8
S.D.	2545	376	47	1.2	27.3	75.10	.16	26.I
Tenn.	1312	317	59	7.2	17.3	38.29	.27	18.3
Tex.	1662	413	33	6.8	26.3	59.95	.32	22.4
Utah	2289	480	115	1.2	29.2	77.88	.51	25.7
Vt.	2500	521	384	2.2	21.5	65.88	.16	25.8
Va.	2144	450	101	8.7	21.8	43.82	.25	21.3
Wash.			140	1.0	29.6	110.71	.65	28.5
W.Va.	2577	632	67	4.8	21.7	58.72	.03	19.1
Wis.	1585	398		•		73.18		
Wyo.	2634 3623	516 605	91	1.6	30.3	103.72	.08	25.3 26.4

^{*} Notes to Numbered Columns in Table I: (1) 16th Census of the U. S. (2) Per cent of total population. 16th Census of U. S. (3) Per cent of families with three or more children under 10 years. 16th Census of U. S.

fitted to the data. Figures for 1940 are used because of the amount of accurate statistical material for that year and to avoid the many abnormal changes due to wartime conditions. In a few cases other years were used either because of availability of data or because of current interest in the most recent statistics.

Mortality as an Index of Health. The crude death rate is a less reliable index of health than formerly due to changes in the population pyramid. For a more accurate index it is necessary to use adjusted rates or death rates from selected diseases.

Infant mortality is one of the best single indices of health and medical control. Preservation of infant life depends not alone upon proper medical and sanitary services during pre-natal and post-natal life but also upon intelligent and active care by the family group. Infant welfare reflects the provision and integration of child-saving control agencies by the community. High infant mortality is a conspicuously regional situation since all except one of the eleven states with highest rates are located in the south or southwest.

Crude death rates from heart disease are not accurate indices of healthful environment since to some extent they are the opposites of infant death rates. A community with adequate and efficient health controls is likely to show a low infant death rate but a high rate from heart disease which means

that such controls preserve life into later years when the forces producing heart disease can claim their victims. Of the above eleven states having high infant mortality, all except three are in the quartile of lowest death rates from heart disease. Seventy-two per cent of all deaths from heart disease in the United States in 1940 took place at sixty or more years of age. The coefficient of correlation between death rates from heart disease and per cent of population over 65 years of age among the states is +.78. This is especially noticeable in the region of New England with its higher percentages of the aged and its higher longevity. Heart disease like cancer and intracranial lesions belongs to the "wearing out" diseases where attrition with environment will ultimately lead to organic break-down.

Since tuberculosis has been nearly conquered by man, its presence to any degree in a community or state (except in case of migration) will generally indicate a lag in medical and environmental controls. The regional distribution of death rates from tuberculosis is shown by the fact that all except one (California) of the twelve states with highest rates are southern or southwestern states. A common explanation for the high rates in Arizona, California, Colorado and New Mexico is the migration into those states of tuberculars. Although Table I uses resident deaths, this factor of migration accounts partly for the ranking of those

(4) (5) Per cent of total population. 16th Census of U. S. (6) Infant deaths under one year per 1000 live births. U. S. Census, Vital Statistics of U. S., Pt. II, 1940. (7) (8) (9) Resident deaths per 100,000 population. U. S. Census, Vital Statistics of U. S., Pt. II, 1940. (10) Per cent of registrants examined February 1943 through August 1943. Compiled from Medical Statistics Bulletin No. 3 of the Selective Service System. (11) (12) Per cent of dwelling units without sewer connections and in need of major repairs. 16th Census of U. S., Housing Vol. II, 1940. (13) (16) Directory of American Medical Association, 1940. (14) (15) 16th Census of U. S., Population, Vols. II, III, 1940. (17) Financial Statistics of Counties And Cities, U. S. Bureau of The Census, 1940-1942. Expenditures of state governments from Social Security Year Book, 1941. (18) Per capita premiums written by insurance companies in 1943. From Spectator, November 1944. (19) Persons covered in 1943 per 1000 population. Bureau Memorandum No. 55 (2nd Ed.) of Social Security Board. (20) Per cent of population enrolled as of July 1, 1945 and based upon population estimates of 1943. Source: Hospital Service Plan Commission of American Hospital Association. (21) Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd., The Economic Almanac For 1944-45. (22) U. S. Dept. of Commerce. (23) Deposits of banks 1940. From Am. Bankers Assoc. (24) Per cent of population over 10 years in 1930. 15th Census of U. S. (25) Per cent of total school enrollment in secondary grades, 1941-42. U. S. Office of Education, Statistical Summary of Education. (26) Expenditure per child 5-17 years of age in 1941-42. From Tax Digest, Sept. 1944. (27) Expenditures per capita for public recreation by governmental units. U. S. Bureau of Census, Financial Statistics of Cities, Counties, States, 1940-1942. (28) Number of professional and semi-professional workers in labor force per 1000 population. 16th Census of U. S., Population, Vols. II, III.

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states. However, it is to be noticed that Arizona and New Mexico have high infant death rates as well as high death rates from infectious and contagious diseases.

The infectious and contagious diseases used in Table I are typhoid, paratyphoid, scarlet fever, whooping cough, diphtheria and malaria. The rates given were computed from sums of resident deaths from these diseases in 1940. Control of infectious and contagious diseases requires not only medical control but especially social control of individuals and families in the community by means of isolation, immunization and eradication of sources of infection. The practical conquest of these diseases has been largely due to the fact that since the turn of the century, great progress has been made in environmental sanitation particularly in water and milk supply, disposal of domestic and industrial wastes, immunization, medical diagnosis and treatment. The distribution of these death rates is markedly regional. All the states in the worst quartile are in the south and southwest while the states in the best quartile are seven northeastern, four north central and one western state.

Morbidity. The extent and seriousness of illness is an excellent index of health but the statistics of reportable diseases by states are incomplete. Many reports by health authorities are by standard disease classifications but differ in scope of reporting among the states. For these reasons no index of morbidity is included in this study.

Sanitation. The two indices in this category are sewerage connections and dwelling units in need of major repairs. Other indices from the United States Census of 1940, such as water supply and mechanical refrigeration, might be used but would be a duplication of the above two. Especially important as health indices are food inspections, industrial sanitation and sanitary examinations but complete data are lacking for all the states. The percentages given in Table I are somewhat unfair to the rural states since more sanitary devices are needed by cities for adequate protection against the greater environmental hazards of urban life. The

southern and rural states rank lower in good sanitary conditions but come under the preceding qualification.

Draft Rejections. Table I lists by states the percentages of selective service registrants in World War II rejected for military service because of physical defects only. These figures have been commonly and sensationally used as an index of the health and physical status of the population; and especially because the registrants were born and grew up during the recent period of great progress in medical science. Once again all except one of the twelve states with highest rejection rates are southern states. Several qualifications must be made as to the reliability of this index. There were variations from time to time and among the states in induction procedure and standards of fitness for military duty. Furthermore, the percentages were secured from a sample of twenty per cent of all registrants. Approximately thirty per cent of rejections were for mental defects and deficiency but these were deducted before setting up the percentages in the table.

Medical Facilities. Population per physician, dentist, nurse, and hospital bed along with health expenditures within the states are used as indices in Table I. Other facilities of similar character are pharmacists, public health nurses, specialized hospitals and public health personnel. Lack of space and incomplete data prevent their inclusion. The southern states are most underprivileged in medical facilities, having from 1300 to 1500 population per physician, from 3000 to 5300 per dentist, from 500 to 1100 per nurse, and from 300 to 700 per hospital bed while the most advantaged states have one-half to one-third such ratios. If the suggested standards of adequacy of 1000 population per physician, 2000 per dentist and 250 per hospital bed be used, the inadequacies of such facilities among the states are apparent.

The column on health expenditures indicates that governmental outlays for those purposes follow the ranking for other medical facilities. However, there are many differences among the states in this correlation.

Some states are making intense efforts to improve health conditions; some states are seeking to compensate for inadequate private medical care through health expenditures; while in other states private organizations bear considerable of the expense for health services.

Health Insurance. Most of these forms of protection are of recent development in the United States. Health and accident insurance originated in this country around 1850 but has had its greatest growth during the last five years when it was estimated that nearly 40,000,000 individuals were covered in 1944. It is highly developed in the central and eastern states while the southern and rural states have little. While the column in Table I gives a fairly accurate picture of such protection among the states, it is not a completely exact index of protection against ill health because of the variety of insurance plans included in the data.

Prepaid medical care is in its infancy among the states with most marked development on the Pacific Coast, In only six states are more than seven per cent of the population protected. The larger enrollment in some states has been due to local forces or to intense promotion at particular places. Blue Cross prepaid hospitalization plans have been in force since 1933 but the heavy increase to a national enrollment of over 17,000,000 in 1945 has come during the last few years. Legal obstacles, promotion and group membership plans account for the differences among the states in percentage of population enrolled as of July 1, 1945, the range being from zero to forty-one per cent.

Other forms of protection related to health, sickness and mortality are the social services of governments and voluntary organizations, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, life insurance, old age insurance and annuities, and various forms of socialled public assistance.

Economic Resources. The wealth, income and savings of individuals, families and other groups constitute the ability to purchase those controls of the health-producing and

health-protection forces which may be desired or considered worthwhile. The southern and southwestern states are most deficient in economic ability. Some of the rural states regarded as prosperous are lower in rank on economic resources than in mortality rank. This may be due to lower costs of medical care per unit which reduces some of the seeming financial inadequacy. Productivity per capita, distribution of wealth and income and marginal utility of money are factors affecting the ability to purchase adequate medical care and health protection services. How well the people of the various states are supplied with facilities and services promoting good health depends also upon willingness to spend for such and the transfer of wealth and income across state lines especially by trust funds and foundations for providing health programs.

Culture. It is difficult to select a few indices which will accurately measure the quality of culture as a health protection factor. The indices used in Table I are general literacy, high school education, school and recreational expenditures, and percentage of professional persons in the labor force. These emphasize education and human resources and may give too much weight to the mental side. But this is probably justified because of the relations of ignorance, indifference and incapacity to deficient health. Other cultural indices are: circulation of newspapers, magazines and books; existence of libraries, museums and culture centers; diffusion of biological and medical science; collegiate education and universities; and prevalence of cultural associations. A more complete measurement of culture among the states could be secured by combining the above but complete data is not available for all. Culture of communities promotes health not merely through providing knowledge of medical care but also in creating the urge to attain such control.

Comparative Ranking of States by Health Factors. Table II is a compiled ranking of the states by absolute ranks as to seven major indices of health. These indices are design the control of the control of

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designated by the titles of the seven columns in the table. The rank orders for Draft Rejections and Blue Cross Hospitalization Plans were obtained by ranking the states on the original scores given in columns 10 and 20 of Table I, while the other five are generalized indices obtained by assigning ranks to the states in terms of the average ranks of the states upon specific indices selected from Table I.²

The specific indices from the columns of Table I used in computing these five generalized indices are as follows: columns 6, 8 and 9 for Mortality Rates, viz., infant deaths, deaths from tuberculosis, and deaths from infectious and contagious diseases; columns 11 and 12 for Sanitation, viz., dwelling units without sewer connections and those in need of major repairs; columns 13, 14, 15 and 16 for Medical Facilities, viz., population per physician, dentist, nurse and hospital bed; columns 21, 22 and 23 for Economic Resources, viz., wealth, income and savings; columns 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28 for Culture, viz., illiteracy, high school enrollment, school expenditures, governmental expenditures for recreation, and professional workers. No ranking on health insurance was made because of incomplete and heterogeneous data. In the case of all seven indices in Table II, states with the averages indicative of or favorable to good health conditions were given low numerical ranks, while those indicating unfavorable conditions were given high numerical ranks. That would mean that states with the lowest mortality rates have low numerical ranks.

Correlation Among Health Indices. Com-

putations were made of the rank correlation coefficients among all the seven indices of Table II. Following is a cross-classified table showing the correlation coefficient of each index with the other six:

All the coefficients are positive, the lowest being + .33 and the highest + .90. Only two coefficients are below + .50-both involving Blue Cross hospitalization with its incomplete data. The comparatively lower correlation of the mortality rates (low deathrates have low numerical ranks) with medical facilities is due partly to the concentration of such facilities in certain states as in the case of California with abundant medical facilities but with variant population elements and age-groups which contributed to higher mortality. The sanitation index has the high positive correlation coefficients of + .88 with medical facilities, + .90 with economic resources and + .80 with culture. These high correlations are partly accounted for by the concentration of all four in cities. The correlation coefficients of draft rejections of + .55 with medical facilities and + .61 with economic resources may seem comparatively low in the face of the expected contributions of medical facilities and economic resources to physical fitness. In general the most advantaged states have the lowest draft rejection rates. The correlation would be still higher if it were not that some rural mid-western states with only average income and wealth ranks have the lowest percentages of draft rejections. High rates of rejection also go along with illiteracy and non-white population elements.3

More abundant provision of medical facilities goes with high levels of economic resources and culture—the correlation coefficients being + .86 and + .85 respectively. Chiefly accountable are the desire for and the ability to buy such services. Medical

² Since the rank orders for these five generalized indices were computed by ranking the states upon the simple arithmetic averages of the ranks of the states on the scores in selected columns of Table I, the element of weighting was neglected. Thus, the mortality index in Table II was obtained by averaging the ranks of the states as to infant deaths, deaths from tuberculosis, and deaths from contagious and infectious diseases, but the first of these is the most important and reliable single index of health. It seems impossible to assign accurate weights in this case.

^a Conclusions respecting draft rejections are only tentative since selective service statistics have not been completely compiled and analyzed. Further study is necessary to present an accurate picture and to refine draft rejections as an index of health and physical fitness.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

TABLE II. RANK OF STATES IN FACTORS RELATED TO HEALTH

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
States	Mortality Rates	Sanitation	Draft Rejections	Medical Facilities	Blue Cross Hospitaliza- tion Plans	Economic Resources	Culture
Ala.	44	46	42	45	27	45	46
Ariz.	47	19	37	18	38	30	30
Ark.	37	48	43	46	45	48	46
Calif.	26	5	26	1	35	7	2
Colo.	30	28	35	4	6	27	13
Conn.	2	4	4	6	5	2	8
Del.	28	14	5	17	2	3	24
Fla.	35	21	48	31	42	36	32
Ga.	38	40	44	43	40	44	43
Idaho	18	33	13	37	45	24	29
Ill.	20	9	5	5	14	8	6
Ind.	24	23	15	32	33	22	22
Iowa	6	24	31	29	20	23	20
Kan.	15	34	2	25	23	33	14
Ky.	41	43	34	42	28	40	42
La.	45	34	47	35	25	37	37
Me.	27	24	24	28	14	21	34
Md.	34	11	18	8	14	13	27
Mass.	7	3	14	2	4	4	7
Mich.	15	10	22	19	9	10	17
Minn.	1	20	20	9	8	24	9
Miss.	39	46	40	48	45	47	48
Mo.	28	26	25	26	11	29	28
Mont.	25	29	33	20	34	17	16
Nebr.	3	26	10	22	30	32	11
Nev.	36	17	27	11	35	5	18
N.H.	14	7	7	12	16	12	24
N.J.	9	6	17	14	12	10	4
N.M.	47	38	35	26	45	42	40
N.Y.	12	1	30	2	7	1	1
N.C.	32	43	46	43	19	43	44
N.D.	23	45	9	33	22	35	32
Ohio	21	13	28	23	3	17	12
Okla.	31	43	32	39	26	41	36
Oreg.	4	15	3	10	32	20	4
Pa.	21	11	20	16	10	10	21
R.I.	8	1	16	15	1	6	19
S.C.	42	36	45	46	45	46	45
S.D.	9	39	18	34	20	30	26
Tenn.		40		41	41	39	41
Texas	43 46	31	39 38	38	38	37	35
Utah	12	21	30 I	30	_	26	14
Vt.			8	-	37 16		
Va.	19	17		13		28	31
Va. Wash.	40	31 8	41	36	24		_
W.Va.				7	30	15	3
W.va. Wis.	33	37	23 28	40	18	34	39
Wyo.	5	15		21		19	
wyo.	17	31	11	24	45	13	23

personnel and facilities tend to concentrate in cities and the mature wealthy states. Blue Cross Plan enrollment is correlated positively with the other indices which means that its membership runs higher in the more advantaged states. This, in a way, is an enigma since the underprivileged states are most in need of such cooperative plans. The tween the of indicatinport resource domina cularly United strengt of continuous control of the control of t

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The most conspicuous correlations are between the economic and cultural factors and the other indices which are more direct indicators of health status. This shows the important relations of economic-cultural resources to health problems and the dominance of those factors in society. Particularly in the social organization of the United States does economic and cultural strength make possible agencies and means of control.⁴

tors and lack of weighting may mean some unreliability.

The pattern of regional distribution of ranks is clear from this table. Without exception the southern and southwestern states occupy the quartile with worst health conditions with three other southern states next in rank. The first quartile is composed of northern states located from coast to coast but with six on the east coast. Seven of these twelve most advantaged states are highly

TABLE III. CORRELATION MATRIX

Indices	Mortality Rates	2 Sanitation	3 Draft Rejections	4 Medical Facilities	Blue Cross Plans	6 Economic Resources	7 Culture
I. Mortality Rates		+.60	+.72	+.56	+.48	+.59	+.78
2. Sanitation	+.60		+.50	+.88	+.61	+.90	+.80
3. Draft Rejections	+.72	+.50		+.55	+.33	+.61	+.62
4. Medical Facilities	+.56	+.88	+.55		+.55	+.86	+.85
5. Blue Cross Plans	+.48	+.61	+.33	+.55		+.58	+.46
6. Economic Resources	+.59	+.90	+.61	+.86	+.58		+.79
7. Culture	+.78	+.80	+.63	+.85	+.46	+.79	

Rank of States. It is interesting, but with some probable error to construct a ranking of the states generalized from a number of indices. Table IV lists the states by quartiles with respect to average rank in health and sanitation indices as given in Table II, but with omission of the Blue Cross hospitalization index. The adjacent column lists the average ranks of the states in economic and cultural indices. Overemphasis of some fac-

industrialized and urbanized. In spite of health hazards from urban life and industry the culture of such states includes offsetting controls. There are differences in rank between geographically adjacent states which are due to special population, and climatic or economic conditions. Between the health ranking of the states in Table IV and non-white population there is a rank correlation coefficient of —.57, and with large families a coefficient of —.82. This indicates some of the problems of health and culture among those states with such variant population elements.

Conclusions. There is a wide range and variety of conditions affecting health among the states. This means that the health

^{*}A detailed analysis of all the causal relations back of the correlations between the indices in Table II is outside the compass of this study. In the case of several of these health indices, the correlation coefficients would have been still higher if the computations of coefficients had been made in terms of the original values.

TABLE IV. A HEALTH AND CULTURAL RANKING OF THE STATES-1940

State	Health Sanitation Rank	Economic- Cultural Rank	State	Health Sanitation Rank	Economic Cultural Rank
Connecticut	1	3	South Dakota	25	30
Washington	2	7	Idaho	26	28
Oregon	3	9	Montana	27	16
Massachusetts	4	4	Colorado	28	20
New Jersey	5	6	Indiana	29	25
New York	6	1	Missouri	30	31
Illinois	7	5	Maine	31	29
Rhode Island	8	10	Arizona	32	32
Minnesota	9	17	North Dakota	33	34
California	10	2	Florida	34	35
Pennsylvania	11	15	West Virginia	35	37
Nebraska	12	23	New Mexico	36	41
New Hampshire	13	18	Oklahoma	37	39
Utah	14	21	Texas	38	36
Michigan	15	11	Virginia	39	33
Delaware	16	12	Louisiana	40	38
Wisconsin	17	13	Tennessee	41	40
Iowa	18	23	Georgia	42	43
Ohio	19	13	North Carolina	43	43
Kansas	20	26	South Carolina	44	45
Nevada	21	8	Mississippi	45	48
Wyoming	22	18	Kentucky	46	41
Maryland	23	22	Alabama	47	46
Vermont	24	27	Arkansas	48	47

problems of the nation are plural and varied. However, there are some elements common to all states.

Health conditions have a decidedly regional distribution which calls for an accounting of the factors responsible.

The cases of fine health achievements by several individual states show the effectiveness of progressive attitudes, institutions and health controls in attaining a higher level of health.

The high positive correlation of economic

and cultural strength with good health proves the importance of those forces. Good health and physical fitness make for economic and social progress but there is still more causation in the opposite direction between these factors.

Measures for solving the health problems must be based upon the interdependency of social forces. An efficient society requires a balance and integration of the various factors which contribute to its health. knot tem conscious development of the opinion America the title from 45

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IS PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT A GRADUATE SCHOOL FUNCTION?

ERNEST V. HOLLIS U. S. Office of Education

In ADDITION to the communication of knowledge, technique, and skill, contemporary education is slowly but consciously beginning to give attention to the development of personal and social qualities considered basic to a successful career. Graduate faculties, however, are so little concerned with this aspect of education that many of them doubt whether personality development is a graduate school function.

It is the purpose of this article to present the opinion of a cross-section of distinguished American educators on the issues implied in the title of this article. The 204 leaders were from 45 states and included 85 graduate deans, 66 presidents, 34 deans and faculty members, and 19 representatives of precollegiate education. Readers interested in a more detailed analysis of the implications of the opinion of these leaders on this and other aspects of doctoral study are referred to the writer's recent book, Toward Improving Ph. D. Programs, published by the American Council on Education.

Perhaps no issue raised by the comprehensive study of Ph. D. programs was of greater interest than that of broadening the doctoral candidate's training to include more than purely intellectual discipline. There was substantial agreement to the effect that the prospective college teacher and research worker should be educated to work and live cooperatively, should be willing to assume social responsibility, and should live as active and rich a life as possible. There was likewise, explicit as well as implicit in the statements made, rather widespread recognition of the fact that the personal and social qualities of the average graduate student leave much to be desired in such respects. Despite this meeting of minds there was nevertheless little agreement on remedial measures; and there were rather marked

differences of opinion over whether or not any remedy fell within the proper scope of advanced graduate education.

Many of those who thought it promising and thoroughly realistic to use the dynamic environment of a graduate school to modify the personal and social characteristics of doctoral candidates were disturbed at the factors of negative selection that attract atypical personalities to scholarly careers. Several graduate deans were convinced that better financial rewards and social prestiges enabled medicine, law, business, and other professional schools to attract the best minds and personalities. In their opinion the way out lies not so much in rehabilitating individuals as in reshaping university careers so that with selective admissions the graduate school can attract abler recruits.

Almost every objective investigation has indicated nevertheless that we can dismiss the notion that doctoral recruits are of inferior intellectual caliber. A recent check in the social science fields showed that one-third of all first-year graduate students had been graduated from college with high honors or equivalent distinction. The proportion of honors students at the doctoral level of study is more than double that for first-year graduate students. The advanced graduate school probably gets too many of the "greasy grind" type of mind and of mentally able individuals who have not yet chosen a career.

The impression that doctoral candidates are more of an intellectual than a social elite appears to be better justified. A poll of 4,667 members of the American Association of University Professors, for example, indicated the following social origins, according to the occupational status of their fathers: businessmen, 26.6 percent; farmers, 24.7 percent; manual workers, 12.1 percent;

clergymen, 10.6 percent, and seven miscellaneous categories accounted for the remaining 26 percent. It is a matter of common observation that in many other prestige occupations, the medical profession, for example, where doctors are often the sons of doctors, there is more social inheritance of occupation. The social and economic composition of the graduate school group makes for strongly democratic minded individuals whose cultural interests and attainments tend to be lower middle class.

The fact that college and research careers provide a comparatively open channel of vertical social mobility should be cherished in our democracy. But it should be recognized that in making the ascent under prevailing academic conditions the recruit is more likely to acquire intellectual than social growth. The regimen for becoming a doctor of philosophy may indeed retard what would otherwise be the unstimulated cultural and artistic growth of the individual. It tends to accentuate the situation which may have caused him to eschew or be denied full participation in the socializing activities of undergraduate extra-curriculum life on the campus. In short, the graduate school gets the individual with negative personality qualities, boorish manners, bad dress, and general uncouthness primarily as the result of a system of selection that stresses what a man knows rather than what he is as a total functioning personality. And the way out seems to call for a more comprehensive basis of selection plus a greater willingness to consciously promote the growth of the whole individual.

The statement of a university dean of liberal arts is worth quoting at this point for its graphic posing of the problem:

I have just gone through a siege of selecting new faculty members. We had a vacancy in modern languages. Out of five candidates considered very seriously, one had the personal qualities which would make a good faculty person. He had only the Master's degree. All the Ph.D.'s had some objectionable personality quirks. From the standpoint of training all were excellent. It seems too bad that graduate schools don't work on this problem. If a graduate school takes its work seriously, I think it would always have to have an assistant dean or personnel officer who would make it his job to help students, or to train faculty people who have graduate students under their supervision to do so.

A negative view on the key importance of developing the candidate's personal qualities is reflected in the statement of a graduate dean who thought it "too late to develop such traits" as cooperativeness and social competence after the candidate enters graduate school. There were many educators to agree with him:

By the time a person has reached the point of being a candidate for a doctor's degree, his personality habits are so fixed that there is some doubt whether there is much opportunity to improve him. (A university dean of liberal arts)

If a person has not developed sufficient maturity to rate acceptably on these items by the time he enters on graduate work, little if anything can be done to improve him. (The dean of instruction in a junior college)

Some people, especially graduate deans, were quite explicit and emphatic about saying that educational development along the line of social adjustment was not a rightful charge upon the graduate school:

The graduate school has little opportunity to make much contribution to the social adjustment of a graduate student. Perhaps we shall have to accept the fact that the period of graduate study, because of its concentration, represents a partial social hiatus between his undergraduate experience and his adult professional life. (A graduate dean)

The graduate school, in my opinion, should attend primarily to the curricular preparation of the graduate student and social, emotional and what-have-you other elements should slip in unobstrusively wherever a good man and professor has a chance to help out a fellow human being. (A college president)

Few persons went as far in this direction, however, as a certain zoologist who claimed that "the fundamental criterion should be intellectual competence," adding, "if he is to com

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Despite this rather substantial and vocal minority, most of the individuals who responded to the questionaire agreed with the liberal arts dean quoted earlier who wished the graduate school would "take its work seriously" and consciously make provision for the fullest possible development of its doctoral students. For instance, the president of a teachers' college regretted the prevailing emphasis on "the minutiate of scholarship which have a tendency to dwarf imagination, initiative, and human qualities which make for individual effectiveness," especially since "most Ph. D.'s are employed where human relationships count." The president of a college of liberal arts similarly argued that "a broad view toward, and competence in relating specialized fields to the larger objectives of organized society," ability to work "with students as well as subject matter," and the "habit of working in larger areas of community life," were just as important as intensive preparation in a special field. The nature of the issue involved is cognently stated in the following remarks of a particularly distinguished educator, the dean of a university college of liberal arts:

These questions reflect the attitude that has transformed the problem of teacher education during recent years, on account of the apparent necessity for the school to assume responsibilities that we thought were taken care of in earlier times by the family, the church, and the community. In some institutions this point of view seems to obscure almost entirely the necessity for attention to the subject that the prospective teacher is supposed to teach. I personally feel that much of this attention to extra-curricular matters is necessary if the ordinary garden variety of Ph. D. is to be fitted out for the life that he will be called upon to live. . . . The two dangers of overspecialization on trivial and unimportant topics for long researches does not afford a person any point of view or background which results in vital instruction.

The many suggestions made for improv-

ing graduate practice, once the point is conceded that its scope should include the fullest possible education, usually followed one of two main lines of thought: emphasis on cultural courses with or without accompanying firsthand experiences, or emphasis specifically on human relationships. The former is illustrated first:

Make room on the graduate program of study for some cultural courses outside the major field—especially needed in the field of science where rapidly developing research and vast content plus vested departmental interest give us research snobs: highly competent but contemptuous and unable to teach. Often we find the reverse in the schools of education: all method and pedagogy and little content. (A graduate dean)

The graduate school might improve the prospective teacher by setting an excellent example, showing a broad point of view toward college courses of a semiprofessional nature. (A junior college president)

Improvement could be aided by bringing into his educational experiences broad contacts with contemporary culture and basic social, economic, and aesthetic understanding. (The president of a state teachers college)

The alternate viewpoint on this matter, emphasizing the educational value of human relations as such, may be summarized in the words of a college president who said: "It should be done personally and not by courses." A chemistry professor said, "graduate students usually associate only with those who are working in their field," and that "it would be very beneficial if they could be brought into contact with graduate students who are working in totally different subjects." Others called for "participation in community living while the candidate is studying for his degree" and "significant contacts with important leaders, particularly those carrying large administrative responsibilities." Still others, as already noted, put their main reliance for developing the personal qualities of students on organized personnel services, especially on individual counseling.

Several educators mentioned extracurri-

cular activities as the best means of social and personal development. One university was reported as providing "suitable living arrangements" to this end for its graduate students, and as "encouraging discussion, requiring training in public speaking, and organizing departmental groups or clubs." A professor of psychology reported beginnings in the same direction at his institution. One graduate dean thought that "to get the best results, the graduate school should be made into a kind of residential college," while another suggested "social groups built around the departments in which they work." The dean of a summer session thought that once a candidate was admitted, improvement can be effected only through utilizing the university as a social laboratory "in which he can practice being the type of person we would like to see him become."

Closely related to this line of thought, indeed shading into it, were recommendations for induction into the profession and for more warm human contacts between students and their professors.

Give the graduate student responsibilities for discipline or instruction of undergraduates with compensation therefor; encourage his participation in community affairs through permitting him to substitute for staff members . . . exploit him if you will through writing for trade journals, religious periodicals, and the like. (A graduate dean)

Graduate schools might stimulate intellectual curiosity through permitting more initiative on the part of individual students. We can best teach people how to cooperate by cooperating with them. Relationships between staff members and students are very cold and indifferent because a large proportion of our graduate school staff members have practically no interest in students. (The president of a state university)

A graduate staff with good morale tends to impart this morale to the students. A constant emphasis on the importance of integrity, fair-mindedness, and fair play on the part of his instructors, not only in words but also in actions, will go far. (A graduate dean)

In so far as the propective college teacher gets his intellectual and social attitudes from the graduate school, these must reflect the character and preoccupations of the graduate staff itself. Hence any effort to improve students seems to me to call for considerable reshuffling of graduate school concepts. (An assistant graduate dean)

The answer to this problem lies largely in the type of faculty member offering the courses and in the general environment of the graduate school; but also in the careful selection of those who are admitted to the graduate school. (A junior college president)

In the opinion of the distinguished educators consulted, the tendency of the graduate school to divorce subject matter from the self has not always encouraged the healthy objectivity it was designed to produce. They believe thinking has so much physiology and sociology in it that the whole person and his environment ought to be considered in planning and conducting a program of graduate study or in appraising progress in it. This concept of effective program requires a great deal more than readiness to work with the individual graduate student as if he were a disembodied intellect. It includes a concern for the candidate's housing, his social life, his mental and physical health, his growth in the personal qualities which employers say are essential to success on the job; all of this, of course, as part of the main task of promoting a quality of intellectual growth for which the doctorate in philosophy may be conferred with pride.

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ELEMENTS OF TENANT INSTABILITY IN A WAR HOUSING PROJECT

CHARLOTTE KILBOURN
Overseas Service, American Red Cross
AND

MARGARET LANTIS

U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics

PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

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STUDY of the largest housing project in the United States, Vanport City near Portland, Oregon, was undertaken in the winter of 1943-44 to ascertain why families had been moving out of the project at the rate of 100 a day. Residents, officials and employees, especially the school authorities and teachers, and agencies in Portland were complaining about the high turn over but could not explain it. Even when the rate had become stabilized and only 35 families were leaving per day (in a population of about 9,500 families), the administrative procedures and development of community life still were hindered by constant change of tenants. Such quotations as these, printed in a Portland newspaper in June 1944, obtained from people leaving the Project, had been repeated for some time in Vanport itself,

"We've got lonesome out here. We've been away from the farm and kin folks for so long we can't stand it any more."

"Living out here costs too much. We haven't anything left from the paycheck at the end of the week. It's too hard to get around with these crowded busses."

"A crowded place like this is no place in which to bring up a family."

"It rains all the time. . . ."

"You can't get any sleep in our place here..."

With a lower rate maintained in 1944, Vanport's move-out rate for the year ending September 30, 1944, according to records of the Federal Public Housing Authority, was lower than that of any other war housing project in Washington or Oregon having more than 1,000 dwelling units and occupied more than a year. The highest tenant turnover among all FPHA war housing projects occurred in the far western states.

"My husband has got to go into the Army soon and we want to go back to our old town and visit first before he goes."

Even such random quotations show three major categories of reasons for moving: (1) dissatisfaction with the project; (2) dissatisfaction with the area; and (3) change in family situation. Which of these three affected the most residents and which affected residents most intensely?

In an attempt to get all the reasons for migration and the relative importance of each, a comparison of statements from samplings of three groups was made: officials responsible for the administration, present residents (autumn and winter, 1943), and former residents.

(1) The questioning of the third group, conducted last, was the most thorough and yielded the most complete and probably the most valid answers. A questionnaire was sent to 1,000 families who had moved out of Vanport between September 8, 1943, and January 20, 1944, the thousand constituting approximately one-third of those who had left complete addresses in that period. They were selected by taking every third name on the list of former residents, with an addition of 87 names selected at random to make up an even thousand.

The questionnaire contained four parts:

- I. Check-list of characteristics of Vanport that residents might dislike, divided into two lists, Housing (heating system, cookstove, lack of telephones, etc.) and Community (unpleasant neighbors, general illness in Vanport, shopping facilities, etc.)
- II. Questions on personal background: reason for coming to area, former occupa-

¹⁴ A test of validity was not made.

tion, permanent home, original plans for remaining, reason for leaving.

III. Questions to elicit attitudes toward school system, extended service for outof-school hours, recreation, Portland people. (Section inserted at special request of Superintendent of Schools.)

IV. Request for remarks.

It had been expected that, at the most, no more than 20 per cent of the questionnaires would be returned. Post offices returned 187; of the remainder which supposedly were all received, slightly more than one-third were answered. This unexpectedly high return possibly indicates that recently-departed tenants had strong opinions and feelings toward the project. In any case, they showed interest.²

They showed interest further by their initiative in making comments and suggestions. Fiftyfive per cent of the questionnaires included volunteered remarks. Obvious difficulty for some in spelling, grammar and penmanship did not

deter them.

(2) Sixteen "present residents" were interviewed, principally to obtain the range of complaints so that the check-list of the mailed questionnaire could be made. The residents were not selected statistically and there was no intention of treating their replies statistically. Despite the small number of interviews and somewhat haphazard method of their choosing, these people suggested all complaints on housing and community facilities-such as poor cookstoves and inadequate shopping centers-that later appeared as the top to complaints in these two categories in the questionnaire survey. On disagreeable social factors, however, they did poorly, perhaps because they were less willing or less able to talk about Vanport people while

(3) Opinions of eight Vanport officials in positions of administrative policy-making, on deficiencies and problems of the project and also their explanations of the turnover rate, were obtained from interviews and from public statements made in printed articles and at public meetings. In listing and appraising complaints they had two sources of information that others lacked.

- More or less formal complaints by tenants.
- The stated reasons for moving from Vanport which residents were asked to submit upon leaving.

However, it was found that tenants did not express themselves so honestly or fully to the officials as they did when their identity was concealed.

THE PROJECT AND THE PEOPLE

The mere statement that Vanport City was a temporary war housing project consisting of multiple-unit frame buildings does not tell what the residents were complaining about, since there has been variation in housing projects. Vanport was structurally quite different from most public war housing, having been built by the Maritime Commission. Therefore, we must see what sort of place Vanport was.

Vanport City, the second largest "city" in Oregon, was built and occupied in about 11 months. The order to proceed was issued on September 14, 1942; the first families moved in December 14 of the same year; and, except for 1,000 apartments which did not yet have furniture, the project was completely filled by the end of August 1943. (This study was begun two months later.) The Vanport school system, federally financed and administered, had opened seven schools for 4,000 elementary school children in April 1943. Vanport contained 718 twostory frame apartment buildings, built in groups of four around a utility building. All were the same size and shape, and all were painted the same light green, although the monotony was relieved somewhat by a few curving and diagonal streets. Each building

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still living on the project or when meeting the questioner face to face.

Other factors possibly accounting for the good return: (1) the simply-worded covering letter from someone not connected with the Housing Authority, appealing to the people to tell what they thought so that suggestions for the correction of Vanport's faults could be made: (2) the practical, vernacular directions for filling out and returning the schedule; and (3) the promise of anonymity. Actually, a code number was placed on each schedule in invisible ink so that each could be identified upon return, but only for comparison with the complaints that the same families had registered with the Housing Authority when they left Vanport. The personal identification of answers remained confidential.

housed usually 14 families, in one, two, or three-room flats, and a very few four-room flats. The total number and rental of each type was as follows:

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	Single	Double	Triple	Four- room
Total number	2062	5360	2062	254
Rent per apart- ment per week	\$7.00	\$8.75	\$10.15	\$11.55

Vanport was full and had a waiting list until the spring of 1944. At the time of this study it was occupied only by shipyard and other war plant workers. Negroes, Filipinos and other races were accepted as residents although the number of non-whites was restricted. Especially in the early days two men—but never two girls—were allowed to occupy a "single." Most occupants, however, were families.

The utility building in the center of each block of four apartment buildings contained the laundry facilities, with two electric washing machines for 56 families, and the heating unit supplying hot-air heat and hot water to the apartments. Neither of the last two was provided at night, a hardship for people going off swing and on graveyard shifts. There were no telephones. The apartments were supposed to be fireproof and the walls were found to be so, but not the ceilings. Also ventilation holes from one apartment to another facilitated the spread of noise at all times and of fire occasionally.

Furniture and blankets were provided, but not other furnishings. The cookstove, in the combined living-room and kitchenette, was a "rangette" with two electric plates and a small oven. There was no refrigeration except a cupboard for ice. It must be remembered that this was temporary war housing and that building and furnishing materials, especially those made of metal, were hard to get. Nevertheless, people missed facilities that they were accustomed to or had expected to receive from a government project. For example, they complained about such regulations as the provision of only one key for a family and the charge

of \$1.25 for unlocking a door when the key was lost or forgotten.

Although transportation and mail service had been poor un'il May, 1943, they were much improved by autumn. But Vanport remained muddy throughout its first year of occupancy, having been built on a newly reclaimed swamp. In regard to most community facilities, Vanport was inadequately supplied for nearly two years and never acquired some of the typical elements of a community of 38,000 people, for example, a newspaper. At the time of this study (winter of 1943-44), the project had only two shopping centers, operated as concessions with a limited range of goods, one post office, one cafeteria and a lunch counter, one motion picture theater, and a library. There were no skating rinks, bowling alleys, taverns, or other privately financed recreation and eating places, except the movie house.3 There were 5 public recreation buildings with excellent facilities. No church buildings were provided, but all denominations were allowed to use the school buildings for meet-

As there was no high school, boys and girls were transported to Portland to attend high school. The elementary schools, with 270 teachers handling 2,000 children on each of the two shifts, had complete modern specialized equipment in classrooms, clinics, and cafeterias. To help the working mothers, the four nursery schools, with an enrollment of 900, were open from 5:45 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. seven days a week. Later, they gave 24-hour-a-day service. All meals could be provided the youngsters if mothers paid the small fees. Also, on the same basis, their children of school age could be cared for by the Extended Service which provided outside of school hours a service like that of the nursery schools. Although 500 children were

³ By the spring of 1945, Vanport had 5 shopping centers offering photography, insurance, transfer and storage, and other services, also a wider range of goods such as flowers, bakery goods, hardware and dishes. There were three restaurants in addition to the cafeteria. Still only one theater and one post office, but mail deliveries had increased to two daily.

cared for by the Extended Service, there still were hundreds of children on the project unattended while parents worked or slept on the day or swing shift. A later study of the East Vanport project, 52 per cent of whose tenants came from the older Vanport, showed that 45 per cent of the mothers were working out of the home. Undoubtedly, the same per cent of Vanport women, or more, also worked.

The hospital was run privately under the administration of the Oregon Physicians' Service, a group prepayment program sponsored by the Oregon Medical Society, A patient could pay for each service separately or could have medical and hospital coverage by prepayment of 60 cents a week. For most of the first year, patients had to prove ability to pay before being admitted to the hospital. The County Public Health and Welfare Departments expanded their service to include Vanport. At first these two, with the Sheriff's Office, had to handle all welfare problems.5 Vanport was outside the corporate limits of Portland and was itself unincorporated.

Organizations started slowly within Vanport itself. Informal groups and their activities, such as the parties of teen-agers and the "sings" of men from the southern hills, developed here and there on the project within a few natural interest groups. However, at the same time the Recreation Department and the Project Services Department were having great difficulty starting neighborhood councils and clubs. councils were intended to be representative planning and advisory groups and leaders in neighborhood activities. As there was no formal means of electing or otherwise selecting council members and as most of the residents did not know about the councils

and did not seem to think of Vanport as a real community anyway, it was nearly impossible to initiate them. (However, by the third year of project life they were fairly well organized.) Residents regarded Vanport life as temporary and Vanport administration as a large furnished-apartment rental agency, and in most respects the management functioned as one, although it must be noted that its 800 employees worked not only in such departments as Maintenance, Accounting and Property but also in the Fire Department, Project Services and other public service jobs.

Compilation of social statistics on the tenants, made by the project administration, was not complete when the writers' original report on causes of turnover was made. Since the winter of 1943-44, survey work at both Vanport and East Vanport has shown that these projects have had a population of young people, with very few dependent elderly people (left at home in Nebraska), and the white workers had been skilled workers, operatives, foremen and non-farm laborers, although many did come from smaller towns and villages, while the Negroes had been non-farm laborers, operatives and a few service workers, a few were farmers.

The residents came from every state and from Alaska, but mainly from the Pacific Northwest and Intermountain states and the Midwest, including the southern plains states of Oklahoma and Texas. The three principal reasons for their coming to the Portland-Vancouver shipyards, according to answers on the mailed questionnaires, were, in this order: (1) they thought it their duty to go into defense work, (2) they thought they would like such a job better than the old one, and (3) they sought higher wages. Only 37 per cent of the 232 answering this question said that they had been recruited by shipyard representatives. Of these, 36 per cent (or 40 families) said they had been disappointed in the housing, which had been one of the recruiting arguments. Probably this is not a significantly high proportion under war circumstances.

There was supposed to be no segregation of races at Vanport. However, Negro families

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⁴ Lillian Kessler. The Social Structure of a War Housing Community, East Vanport City; Thesis, 1945, Reed College, Portland.

^{*}Later, the Court of Domestic Relations, children's agencies, Agricultural Extension Service, Veterans' Administration, Volunteers of America, YMCA and YWCA, and other agencies assigned workers to Vanport or otherwise provided for it. Most of these came after this survey, however.

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were assigned only to certain apartment buildings grouped in three sections of the project, and separate waiting lists and rental files for Negroes and whites were maintained, a policy which was not openly admitted by the Housing Authority for many months. There was, however, no segregation in public places. Not only were the two races allowed to use the recreation buildings and attend school together, but the school system hired two Negro women to teach mixed classes and a Negro assistant librarian.

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The Superintendent of Schools said that he gave three answers to people from the south who objected to non-segregation in the schools: "You are now in the north, and you cannot expect to impose southern tradition on the northerners," "You do not actively protest against working with Negroes in the shipyards," "In the south, you trust the care of your children to Negro women," implying that the Vanport association with Negroes could not be any closer than that.

In the autumn of 1943, about seven per cent of the apartment buildings were occupied by Negroes. "Discrimination" appeared in the complaints of the Negroes and "non-segregation" in the complaints of the whites. Nevertheless, although there were occasionally harsh words between the races, there was never violence between them.

Another kind of non-segregation sometimes bothered the residents, namely, the mixing of the work shifts. Both men and women worked on each of the three shifts, hence some people were at home trying to sleep on each of the three. Since families were not grouped according to shift and in many cases could not be effectively segregated, with various members of the same family working different shifts, there was almost constant noise day and night in all neighborhoods.

Vanport residents as a group gave the impression of being small town and rural

⁶ The number of Negro families, under 1000 at this time, was increased until there were, in the spring of 1945, 1,833 Negro families in a total of 8,302 occupied dwelling units.

people. At any rate, Portland people regarded them as poor farm people, no matter where they were from; and a social stigma came to be associated with Vanport and its residents. The high school students, for example, claimed that they definitely felt the stigma in the Portland high schools that they attended. Even some of the other war housing projects rated higher socially than Vanport. Now let us see how the Vanport people reacted to such surroundings.

WHY PEOPLE LEFT VANPORT

The replies to the questionnaire have most interest in two contexts: former residents' complaints against Vanport compared with the officials' ideas about such complaints; and the complaints compared with actual reasons for moving from the project. In other words, did people really leave Vanport because of the inadequacies or disagreeable features that they often criticized or for reasons having nothing to do with the project? And, did the officials really know why residents were moving out?

In table I are the complaints against the housing, with some indication of the intensity of disapproval. Without considering the strength of each complaint but taking only the relative number of people who checked each one, we find that they appear in this order: cookstove (many women must have filled out these questionnaires), fear of fire, provision of heat, mud, cost of living, laundry facilities, and so on down through less critical complaints.

Even though respondents had a longer list of complaints about the Vanport community and its location than about its housing from which to choose, they agreed on a few items with surprising frequency. In 279 replies, the complaints appear in this

⁷ People were asked to check once if "bothersome," twice (that is, double check marks) if "worst."

^{*&}quot;Cost of living," as an undefined term, probably should not have been included. Yet the residents often spoke of the cost of living at Vanport and perhaps had among themselves clearer understanding and common agreement as to what the term included than the questioner had.

order, without regard to intensity: Negroes and whites in same neighborhood (144), shopping facilities (105), noise (101), children bothering one (99), discrimination against Vanport people by Portlanders (82), and Negroes and whites in same school (68). Transportation, fear of theft, climate, and other elements of Vanport life appeared next with about equal frequency. Table 2 shows the replies in detail.

Even in making their own suggestions for improvement, the respondents showed the on a par with a small irritation over milk delivery, and that the criticisms were concentrated on the practical necessities of daily living comes undoubtedly from the special wartime temporary character of the population and the project. Among the interviewed residents appeared expressions of instability and dissatisfaction because of the disruption of family life and change in status, felt in the "Vanport stigma." They had a feeling that there was no time for organizations, and they simply had no desire

Table 1. Complaints Concerning Housing Facilities Number of Schedules, 279

The Worst (XX	()		Less Bothersome (X)				
Rank	No.	Per Cent	Rank	No.	Per Cent		
r Cookstove	52	18.6	r Mud	81	29.0		
2 (Provision of) heat	49	17.6	2 Cookstove	78	27.9		
Fear of fire	49	17.6					
3 Mud	31	11.1	3 Fear of fire	71	25.4		
4 Cost of living	29	10.4	4 (Provision of) heat	67	24.0		
5 Laundry facilities	24	8.6	5 Cost of living	53	18.9		
6 Size of apartments	15	5-4	6 Laundry facilities	37	13.3		
7 Lack of phones	14	5.0	7 Furniture	34	12.2		
8 Bugs, fleas, rats, roaches	12	4.3	8 Lack of phones	31	II.I		
9 Furniture	10	3.6	9 Unattractiveness of Vanport	30	10.7		
to Unattractiveness of Vanport	7	2.5	10 Bugs, fleas, rats, roaches	21	7.5		

same emphases, although the exact position of any item on the check-list in Part I of the questionnaire did not seem to influence people's response to it, either in marking the list or in citing the same item among suggested changes at Vanport. The items are now familiar:

segregation of Negroes (29); more heat or better regulated heat (21); segregation of shifts (19); more control of children (18); better cooking facilities (15); improvement in Project administration (14); additional shopping centers (11);

and down through a long list of suggestions to, among others, "representative government" and "more and wider sidewalks," two each, and "more churches," " a telephone in each utility building," and "better milk delivery," one each.

That the social organization of a typical community was not expected, was in fact for organizations in Vanport. They were homesick; felt that they were living temporarily, day to day; and wanted only to "finish the job and go home." A few felt that Vanport was all right, "as good as could be expected"; and a very few enjoyed life there.

Such were the attitudes and complaints; but which ones actually influenced people to move from Vanport? The two principal reasons for moving, in terms of number of families, had nothing whatever to do with the project and the third probably had little to do with it. They were (1) entry of the head of the family into the armed forces, (2) conditions of the job, and (3) illness in the family. (This refers to illness of the family at Vanport; illness at the old home was listed separately.) The fifteen most numerous "reasons" for leaving are listed in table 3. If all the "illness" entries were combined, this would be by far the most

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5 Discrir port 6 Transp

7 Fear of Neighb

8 Climate Medica 9 Genera

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11 Illness 12 Church

13 Racial

14 Conditi 15 Distant

Recreate 16 Lack of 17 Lack of

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Three were not i clear whose frequent explanation for moving, totaling 72. It cannot be assumed that a claim of sickness was in all cases merely a rationalization to cover up homesickness, trouble on the job or other factors, although such cases probably were common. If even half of the families were rationalizing and the other half answering factually, sickness still would be the most important factor.9

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though former residents in their complaints and in their suggestions had reiterated their disapproval because Negro and white races were not segregated, nevertheless, the nonsegregation policy of the Housing Authority was fifth, and of the school system twelfth, in the list of reasons for moving. In other words, there was a difference between talk and action. The superintendent of schools

Table 2. Complaints about Vanport Community and Location Number of Schedules, 279

The Worst (XX	X)		Less Bother	some (X)	
Rank	No.	Per Cent	Rank	No.	Per Cent
1 Negroes and whites in same	2		1 Negroes and whites in	same	
neighborhood	74	26.5	neighborhood	70	25.1
2 Shopping facilities	48	17.2	2 Noise	65	23.7
3 Negroes and whites in same	•		3 Children bothering you	63	22.6
school	39	13.9			
4 Children bothering you	36	12.9	4 Discrimination against		
Noise	36	12.9	Vanport people by	Port-	
			landers	61	21.9
5 Discrimination against Van-			5 Shopping facilities	57	20.4
port people by Portlanders	21	7.5			
6 Transportation	19	6.8	6 Fear of theft	39	13.9
7 Fear of theft	17	6. r	7 Getting mail	38	13.6
Neighbors or partner	17	6. I	Climate	38	13.6
8 Climate	16	5.7	8 Transportation	37	13.3
Medical facilities	16	5 - 7			
9 General Vanport illness	14	5.0	9 General Vanport illness	36	12.9
			Illness of family	36	12.9
			Neighbors or partner	36	12.9
o Getting mail	13	4.7	10 Distance from work	34	12.2
Influence of other children on	1				
your child	13	4.7			
I Illness of your family	11	3.9	11 Church facilities	31	II.I
2 Church facilities	10	3.6	12 Influence of other childre	en on	
			your child	30	10.7
3 Racial discrimination	7	2.5	13 Negroes and whites in s	ame	
One-half day school	7	2.5	school	29	10.4
4 Conditions on the job	6	2.1	14 One-half day school	21	7.5
5 Distance from work	5	1.8	15 Lack of high school	17	6.1
Recreational facilities	5	1.8			
6 Lack of high school	4	1.4	16 Medical facilities	15	5.4
7 Lack of Vanport newspaper	3	1.1	17 Racial discrimination in administration	the 13	4.7
			18 Recreational facilities	11	3.9
			19 Conditions on the job	8	2.9
			20 Lack of Vanport newspap		1.8
			20 Duck of Tumport hemspa	3	

To many people the most interesting disclosure of the above list may be that alalso pointed out, in an interview several months before the questionnaires were returned, this discrepancy between talk and action. By October 1943, not more than five families had threatened to remove their

Three respondents' citing of merely "illness" were not included in the above list, as it was not clear whose illness was referred to.

TABLE 3. REASONS FOR DEPARTURE*

Ran	ik N	luml
I	Member of family entered armed forces	28
	Conditions of the job	28
2	Illness of self and family	24
3	Heating system	20
4	Noise	19
5	Negroes and whites in same neighbor-	
0	hood	18
	Climate	18
	Sickness at home	18
6	Illness caused by climate	17
	Size of apartment	17
7	Lonely and homesick	15
•	Cost of living	15
	Cookstove	15
8	Association with undesirable people	14
9	Children bothering one	13
10	Business to attend to at home	10
	Home in Portland better and more con-	
	Had moved to Vanport temporarily	10
	Mud	10
	General illness in Vanport	10
		-
	Trouble with neighbor or partner Crowded conditions	10
II	Distance from work	9
	Transportation	9
12	Dampness	8
	Negroes and whites in same school Fear of fire	8
		8
	Furniture provided (or not provided)	8
	One-half day school	8
	No high school	8
	Shopping facilities	
13	Treatment by administration	7
14	Insects and rats	5
	Lack of play yard for children	5
	Family bought a home	5 5 4
15	Provision for refrigeration	4
	Medical facilities	4
	Mail delivery	4
	Suggestion that family move since work- ing in Vancouver shipyard	4

In answer to question, "What are a couple of your main reasons for leaving Vanport?" on 279 questionnaires, 512 items were given.

children from school because of mixed classes. Some time later, he said that two families had refused to send their children to school, an illegal act and treated as such. This small number in an elementary school population of 4,000 should not alarm those fearing open racial antagonism on such a project. Even beyond the time limits of this study, there still had been no violence between

the races living at Vanport up to May 1945, at which time the number of Negro residents was nearly double the number in the winter of 1943-44 when the erstwhile residents of Vanport were questioned.

Among the top 10 reasons for moving, the only ones for which the Housing Authority could be considered fully responsible were the heating system and the regulation of heat; the cookstove; size of apartment assigned to each family size. amount of cupboard space and other space factors: and the amount of noise. This last could not be entirely the fault of the project planning and administration although the thin walls and other characteristics of the housing were important. There undoubtedly are minimum standards of comfort that most Americans from all parts of the country (especially those who have lived in town) insist upon and which must be recognized in planning, the most important being indoor warmth.

At the same time, the residents were not blameless. Some of the physical unpleasantness of the Project was due to them. Although East Vanport had a full-sized cookstove, individual heating units, more room per family size, and a yard for each family dwelling unit, thus correcting several of the weaknesses in Vanport planning, and although all families were earning quite good wages, nevertheless go per cent of the white families and 100 per cent of the Negro families were on the lower half of Chapin's Living Room Scale. That is, they would be rated below lower middle class, in the terminology of the scale.10 The bad appearance of Vanport and East Vanport apartments was due partly to crowding, the Negroes especially having "boarders," partly to out-of-home work by women, and partly to indifference to care of a temporary home, as well as to original standards and social rating. Whatever the "causes," the project housing was not improved by its

Both interviews and questionnaires show

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¹⁰ Kessler, Op. cit.

Partially Vanport Factors

that neither administration nor residents had adjusted fully to a three-shift life. The noise, the troubles between neighbors, irritation caused by children, the heating problem (heat and hot water not being provided 24 hours a day), the lack of a 24-hour nursery school (corrected later) were evidence of the conflict between the new night-time work and the old day-time habits and regulations, and people left the project because of them. They could get along without clubs and churches, but they could not get along without sleep.

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What did the officials know and think about the turnover? They had received through the rental department and other sources about the same range of complaints from residents as in the preceding tables. But their explanations of the turnover were more limited:

Neighbors Change of residence to be nearer work

Noise Illness

Mud Homesickness

Vanport Factors

Adequacy of the washing machines.

Difficulty in obtaining the right coal for the heating system.

Insufficiency of chairs for apartments.

Housekeeping problems resulting in ill-will among neighbors.

Effect of the decreased allotment for the Maintenance Department.

In the first four or five of these, the administrative officers were, rightly, looking beyond current material difficulties which could be handled by administrative action alone, such as the purchase of particular kinds of coal. They were considering elements in the formation of a real community, which would require action by both tenants and Housing Authority employees. They did not, however, have any regular channels for reaching the tenants such as weekly project news sheets or information bulletins, and

Non-Project Factors

Actuality of 6-day week and rumor of 40-hr. week

Business or harvest at home

Receipt of furniture that had

The officials overlooked completely the factors, both outside the project and within it, affecting most of the families, except illness; namely, leaving the job to enter the armed services, and the heating system. The cookstove also did not get the attention it deserved.

The greatest divergence of viewpoint from the attitude of residents appeared in the problems which the officials considered important and were trying to solve:

Lack of Vanport newspaper.

Effect of the turnover on development of a representative council.

Irregularity of attendance at Neighborhood Council meetings.

Direction of the socially minded individuals into the right channels.

Effect of the turnover on the morale of the school staff.

One-half day school.

Control of the unorganized gangs of children. Tenants who skipped without paying their rent. they did not have any definite plan for representative government other than informal Neighborhood Councils which were really discussion groups that people were invited to attend but which had no designated responsibility.

been en route

CONCLUSION

The attitude of most people, whether administrative officers or tenants, seemed to be that Vanport was just a housing project and not a community, although Vanport people were not accepted in the Portland community other than as purchasers of goods and commercial recreation, and there was no other community close enough or large enough to include Vanport City. With a highly concentrated population that contained at its peak close to 40,000 people, Vanport was a social hybrid, with some characteristics of a town, other characteristics of a great disjointed apartment building, and some elements of a camp of

migratory construction workers. Some of the weaknesses that both residents and officials recognized were merely expectable transitory elements of a new, hastily-constructed project and of an abnormal, hastily-assembled society. For example, in this "community" of construction workers there were many young adults, apparently too many children for anyone's comfort, and few old people. Also, even though Vanport provided such urban services as a fire department and supervised recreation centers, it was an abnormal town: there could be no property ownership, and no private business could be started without concession and supervision from the Housing Authority.

The interesting question as to what does make a community cannot be discussed here, but the following conclusions touch upon

the community question.

1. Most people came to Vanport and many left for reasons not connected with the facilities and reputation of the project. They came because they had secured work in the area, they had to have a place to live and housing was scarce. They left because they had to give up, or wanted to give up, the job and leave the area, or in fewer cases because they found a home that they liked better. In other words, Vanport did not draw them and hold them as an established community attracts and holds people.

2. The residents came to Vanport and left it as separate families, for personal reasons. They had a common feeling, perhaps deceiving themselves a little regarding their motives, that they wanted to work in the shipyards to contribute directly to war production, but still they did not come to found

a community.

3. Evidence that the residents while in Vanport also were functioning as separate families, without regard to others there is provided by the interest in personal convenience and comfort, by the frequent compaints against neighbors, and by the weak interest in social organization.

4. At most, residents were interested in the neighborhood, shown by criticism of neighbors and concern over racial segregation in the neighborhood school and play-

grounds.

5. Only when face to face with the larger nearby community, Portland, and its indifference and condescension, did residents think of Vanport as a social entity rather than a place to eat and sleep.

6. Each individual complaint against the project may not be serious by itself; but the great volume of complaint is to be taken seriously. The housing was not well planned for famly living, even for temporary quarters, and the provisions for social life were made slowly and without fundamental plan.

Although residents would not take the initiative in organizing social life and seldom expressed a need for it, nevertheless the high incidence of "illness" among those who moved away from Vanport makes one suspect that they missed it, illness being the most acceptable cover-up for loneliness or any other unadjustment. Some undoubtedly were organically, rather than functionally, ill; but many simply were unable to adjust to the hurly-burly of the shipyards and of Vanport, the anonymity, restlessness, and disruption of their living habits and living organization.

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SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND OCCUPIED GERMANY

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sociologist visiting Germany in the spring and summer of 1945 inevitably is strongly impressed by the spectacle of a nation crushed and disorganized as a result of defeat in history's greatest war. With the added impact of the atomic bomb the challenge to sociology becomes overwhelming. "Culture lag" ceases to be a trite classroom phrase. With explosive force a question is pressed upon us. Can sociology catch up to physics before man blows himself from this planet as a biological reject, too bright in some respects and in others not bright enough?

The following impressions are recorded not in rigorous scientific terms but as an attempt to bring observations while still fresh into some sort of order with the aid of sociological principles. The total world picture reveals contrast, confusion, contradiction, inconsistency and paradox on every hand. The relation between two countries alone is a sufficiently embarrassing challenge to the infant science of sociology.

It is the purpose of the writer to ponder upon war and peace in terms of the relationship between those who live in the United States and those, about half as numerous, who live in Germany. Japan, not Germany, is now in the headlines but Germany was the first challenge of the war to social science applied to conquest.

Are there sociological laws which can guide us in our core problem—the handling of a defeated Germany conquered at a cost of many thousand American lives and many billion American dollars? Sociology knows as yet no laws such as those which describe the flight of a 16-inch shell. Yet from the

welter of sociological ideas and generalizations, principles may be selected which under various names are part of the mental stock in trade of most sociologists. They lie somewhere between platitudes and heresy, somewhere between generalizations so broad that they apply to everything and nothing and the scientific laws of physics that permit prediction and control. Slowly these principles expressed in varied terms have evolved as a product of clear, honest, abstract thinking by social scientists too numerous to mention. They are the means to more precise generalizations which will predict the consequences of certain treatment of a conquered people and give deeper insight into a world confused and contradictory.

During the war unrestricted sociological thinking about Germany would be inappropriate. It is dangerous to think about one's feet while dancing or to question assumptions while in a fight. Now, however, with the streets cleared of celebration debris and with the temptation growing to limit our horizon of vision to new automobiles, is the time for hard thinking, unclouded by war hysteria. There are ten generalizations which seem most pertinent.

II

(1) Human beings on this planet are born with biological and psychological similarities which are shaped by early experience in simple fact-to-face groups, such as the family or neighborhood, into the common stuff of human nature. One can predict that the average person in an unknown human group regardless of the variations in custom will not only eat, drink, work, play and procreate but also be capable of kindliness, sympathy, laughter, group loyalty, conformity, love, hate and pride.

This would be a platitude were it not for the surprise of G.I.'s in finding friendliness

^{* (}Editor's Note:) Professor Kirkpatrick has recently concluded a period of government service in the European theatre.

and hospitality in Germany. German officials across the table may seem much like thoughtful Americans who would make good neighbors and friends back in Milwaukee. Old ladies in Dortmund do not look or act like human fiends. War dehumanizes an enemy; peaceful association tends to restore the awareness of common humanity. Germans in their ruined cities love their children, worry about missing husbands and sons, ingratiate themselves with conquerors who command work and bread, wash the windows of ruined homes, gather flowers beside bomb craters and stand patiently in long lines for a daily ration of about a third of what the average American would eat per day. They are confused, afraid, bewildered and hate Nazis not only because they love liberty but also because the Nazis lost a war and left them a legacy of ruined cities, the "Hitler Monuments."

It is hard, of course, to banish the thought that only a special biological breed could have produced the concentration camps. But the German breed shows no special depravity in Milwaukee or among American officers with German names. Germans are probably just what we would be if some puckish fairy exchanged each one of us at birth for a German child. It is mere sociological realism to say even of S.S. men, "There but for the grace of a U. S. environment go I." From a sociological viewpoint we should open our minds to the full implication that Germans are human beings collectively capable of love and loyalty, hatred and cruelty, acting the roles which as changelings we, happily American born, would have played.

It may be objected that regardless of appearances and potentialities the Nazi virus both poisoned and debased the German people. No attempt is made to minimize the potency of the Nazi poison, but ignorance of our generalization makes it easy to forget the natural resistance of human nature as developed in intimate groups. From the beginning the family and the church were foes of the Nazi, perhaps because each seeks to influence nervous systems while young and plastic. It is human nature for youth

to be attracted to the novel, dramatic and revolutionary changes, but millions of young Germans remember National Socialism as an established, stogy and conventional way of life, perhaps comparable to dull Sunday school activity, repressive of imagination and curiosity. The war brought coercive, monotonous work. Youth is skeptical of authority which has comic as well as sinister aspects. German lads now mimic the goose step drill of their Hitler Youth days. There is evidence of early clashes between Nazi and non-Nazi youth. It is cheering to learn that small children sang on the streets, "Alles geht vorüber, alles geht vorbei, auch geht Adolph Hitler und der Partei."

It is human too to want the simple necessities of life such as work, food, and family companionship, and to show skepticism toward policies and appeals which seemed far removed from or hostile to simple human values. Jokes and jingles are not made up to deceive conquerors but rather arise slowly in the folk consciousness of simple human beings. Mining folk of the Ruhr may well be honest in their assertion that they suspected from the beginning that National Socialism could mean for them merely hard work, war and disaster. A jingle runs as follows:

Lieber Tommy—fliege weiter, Hier gebt es nur arme Bergarbeiter, Fliege weiter nach Berlin, Denn da sie haben Ja gesehrien!

Dear Tommy—fly farther, Here there are only poor mining folk, Fly further toward Berlin Since there they all shrieked Ja!

In spite of the Nazi poison, Germans on the average are still human beings still capable of reason and decency as well as blind, selfish aggression. The cruelty can only be explained by a second generalization.

(2) Human beings all over the world tend to have a dual pattern of attitudes and behavior; one for the in-group; another for the out-group. The in-group to which the individual belongs is made up of relatives, neighbo while heretics sub-hu

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neighbors, tribesmen, fellows or comrades; while out-group members are traitors, heretics, inferior breeds, cruel enemies and sub-human dangerous animals.

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All social living with its controls, competition and frustration arouses hate as well as love. It is natural and simple therefore to displace disturbing hate to out-groups and their members. If no out-group is conveniently at hand, one can be created (there are always the Jews). Cruelty to out-group members does not count. An S.S. guard who has tortured and butchered helpless prisoners might well return after a hard day's work to fondle his children and tenderly embrace his wife. Psychologically he might be similar to a Chicago stockyard worker who sticks pigs and hangs them on hooks. Pigs and dehumanized out-group members do not rate the moral consideration due in-group members. Humans are cruel to out-groups and accent that out-group subhuman status of the enemy to justify ruthlessness. If what we kill is not a lower animal we must make it sub-human to sleep well at night.

Americans too can engage in the cumulative rationalizing of repressed guilt feelings at behavior which would be condemned if directed against members of the in-group. A German riddled with a burst of .30 caliber bullets has a fuzzy beard and looks very young to die. He had a grenade. Well, he might have had a grenade. Anyhow he is a Kraut and they are a sneaky, cruel lot, A Fraulein wooed with somewhat muscular ardor cries in spite of chocolate and cigarettes. Maybe she wasn't a prostitute, but most German women are immoral and look at what German men have done. An American observer regarding vast prison pens along the Rhine-fields hazy with hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war, commented that it was raining and that the half-naked prisoners had no shelter. An American major wrathfully growled, "They're Germans, aren't they?" Given the ethical dualism of in-group relationship it was quite proper that no more was said.

Our thinking about Germans is of neces-

sity colored by an in-group bias. The bombing by Germans was cruel and inhuman; our own bombing on a far vaster scale, resulting in casualties to women and children higher than we care to think about, we regard as justified because the Germans started it and because it seemed a means to end the war more quickly. The Germans could and did use the latter argument with the naive assumption that a war should end in a German victory. We, too, like a war to end, but with a victory of our own in-group. There are plenty of Americans who worried lest the destruction of German cities was not great enough to punish an enemy out-group. Had our own cities suffered comparable destruction we would develop, as did the Germans, an accentuated interest in a distinction between military and non-military objectives.

Probably the most important manifestation of in-group bias is in connection with the concepts of criminality, aggression and punishment. There is justification for the trial and hanging of many Nazis directly associated with cruel and wanton maltreatment of fellow human beings. It might provide a deterrent, express the outraged humanitarianism of the great majority of civilized countries, crystallize sentiment into international law, further international cooperation in a congenial task and above all to release some of the pent-up hatred engendered by the war which otherwise might find less worthy victims. From a sociological point of view, however, there seems to be danger in identifying leadership in aggressive war with criminality. It is not easy to be sure that men are tried as aggressors rather than leaders of an out-group. Definitions of aggression are almost invariably colored by ingroup bias of which we are not readily aware. Not all forms of aggression are as blatant as the Pearl Harbor attack. Members of a group branded as aggressors very commonly reverse the charge and with an entire world at war an impartial opinion is hard to obtain. Certain victory by force of arms does not guarantee objectivity that rises above in-group out-group relationships.

Leaders of victorious groups are rarely labeled criminal aggressors. The moral seems to be "Win Wars."

To persons concerned with the building of international morality and law on a firm, rational international foundation which can gradually encroach on the traditional doctrine of national sovereignty, the trial of certain kinds of war criminals could be as embarrassing as was the Reichstag fire trial to one Hermann Goering. Can the Allies be certain that no skeletons could be dragged from their respective closets by a smart lawyer well-versed in history? Can a trial by victors be free of bias?

The writer happens to believe that members of the Axis powers were aggressors by any reasonable definition but is not convinced that international law has risen far enough above in-group ethics to identify wartime political leaders with concentration camp butchers and to justify treatment of both as war criminals. Even the latter group could raise plenty of questions concerning obedience to demands and acts done under coercion with sanction of sovereignty which, by definition, is authority above or at least independent of outside judgment and punishment.

(3) It is inevitable that in-groups and out-groups have different conceptions of reality. Only the most immediate commonsense impressions have existence independent of a social point of reference. The man lying stiffly with up-pointed toes is dead, but as hero and comrade or enemy and swine, that is a sociological matter. Extent of atrocities, war guilt, war causation, and other weighty problems of our time are intimately related to the simple fact that to Germans Americans are an out-group and the reverse. It may be added that even false beliefs are important. Millions of people died because of Nazi myths.

While it is a handicap in waging a war to perceive the other fellow's point of view, the shaping of an enduring peace does demand an awareness of this point of view. Germans in their present confused and bewildered state do not agree in their concep-

tions of reality but these conceptions on the average differ from those of Americans. Germans are more aware than we that the original declaration of war between Western powers came from England and France. Some contend that the original bombings of civilians were not directed against the great Allied powers and hence did not call for retribution. Even anti-Nazis aware of concentration camp horrors may argue that the Allied bombings constitute a comparable crime against humanity. Incidentally the German estimates of the loss of life among German civilians due to Allied bombings reach fabulous totals. Their accounts, for example, of the Dresden bombing are not pleasant unless it be assumed that women and children as members of the out-group are also fair game to Allied fliers. There is often an inability to understand why industrial targets were spared while civilian dwellings were ruthlessly destroyed. There is the suspicion in the minds of Germans that the British preparations for British indiscriminate long-range bombing were made before German air-attacks on Rotterdam and Coventry. Educated anti-Nazis profoundly suspicious of Nazi propaganda often became suspicious of all propaganda including that of the Allies. Fed on fantastic atrocity stories circulated by the Nazis it was easy for many Germans to become blind to the grim realities of Buchenwald and Dachau.

Often the best offense is attack. There are anti-Nazi intellectuals in Germany who point an accusing finger, who meet the charge of collective German guilt by the counter-charge "You also are guilty of bringing agony to Europe. You knew in 1933 as much of Nazi brutality as did we. You were in a position to see even more clearly the rising menace of Nazi militarism. In 1936, when Hitler marched into the Rhineland, you had justification and power for crushing the monster before it attained its full growth. Instead there was placation, appeasement, Munich, and the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. You, too, were not willing to pay the price before the price of freedom

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and democracy had risen to an appalling figure. There is collective guilt, yes, but that guilt rests on the shoulders of the entire civilized world."

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Two dilemmas, clear to the outside world, they are reluctant to face. Why did millions of Germans die fighting bravely against the Allies and vet relatively few die fighting Nazi oppression? If Germans always really believed that Nazis were their real enemies and the enemies of the civilized world why the glib excuse "What could we do?" German soldiers could die fighting against overwhelming odds, but for Hitler. Yugoslav civilians could and did fight Nazi oppression when resistance seemed hopeless. Germans who say they could do nothing merely could do nothing without paying a price in terms of comfort, security, and above all a renunciation of blind in-group loyalty.

A second dilemma pressed home also brings perspiration to the brows of intelligent Germans trying to justify their ways to the world and to themselves. Why, if Germans knew nothing of concentration camp horrors and other Nazi brutalities, did they so fear their oppressors that they could take no stand against them? Objectively viewed there are answers, especially the answer that the noose was drawn so slowly about the necks of the German people that the price of resistance did not seem worth paying until the price became too high to pay.

The verdict of history will ultimately be given but until divergent conceptions of reality based on in-group out-group relationships are reconciled that verdict will not be unanimous.

(4) Groups in an in-group out-group relationship, especially that of war, undergo a kind of circular interaction which sharpens hostility, dehumanizes the other party and accentuates the cleavage between contrasting conceptions of reality. Group A holds Group B a menace. B aware of this false belief so acts as to give some validity to the belief, thus prompting A to beliefs and acts promoting the vicious circle of alienation. B is cruel, thus justifying cruelty for

A which justifies it for B. Since only the worst accounts of the out-group are credible, such accounts get a hearing and strengthen the inclination to expect the worst and with increasing cause. All this is unfortunate if A and B are armed with atomic bombs. It should not be forgotten that the process of circular interaction has a positive side and that under certain conditions it is profitable to repay evil with good. This truth so called Christians preach but rarely practice.

It has been the fashion of the American press to portray the apparent cordiality of many Germans toward their American and British conquerors as a sneaking hypocritical attempt to curry favor and plot renewed aggression. There is reason to think, however, that V-E Day brought Germans not only the relief from war and Allied bombings but also a sense of relief from Nazi oppression. At the end of the war the United States was in a position to make millions of friends among the German people. It was a disillusioning experience for Germans who regarded Americans as liberators and who had been led by Allied propaganda to expect food and freedom, to experience a nonfraternization policy, an assumption of collective international guilt and a food ration about a third of that consumed by Americans and less than that provided by Nazi oppressors. Starvation of Germans even if justifiable and to some extent necessary, curtailed good-will. Lack of distinction between Nazis and non-Nazis brought bewilderment as did apparent lack of understanding of the trials of the German people during the last twelve years. The attitude has already developed which could be expressed "Oh well-if you don't want to be friends."

Hostility and friendship then develop in vicious or benign circles. Rarely does a relationship between inter-dependent groups remain static. There is need of clearer realization that Germany and the United States will either become increasingly friendly or move from a quiescent phase of suspicion, hatred and bitterness to open hostility if and when Germany regains the

power to become an active foe. It is not easy to be friendly without giving Germany progressively the power to become an effective foe. It is not easy to pursue a policy of blame, contempt, and punishment without giving incentive to hostility albeit for the time impotent. Is the United States to be a friend or foe of Germany? If destiny decrees increasing friendliness between the United States and Germany it would be desirable to reinforce the trend by a policy sufficiently prompt and consistent to bring political benefits. If Germans are to be our eternal enemies let us match Russia in ruthlessness and realism.

(5) A fifth pertinent generalization is that in proportion to intensity of hostility to an apparent out-group there is increasing broadness and blindness of generalization. An American officer after months of intensive combat, stated that he would like to see every German killed-man, woman and child. To the rabid anti-orientalists Japs are Japs, and decorated American Nisei in uniforms may be refused admission to a barber shop. To some southerners all Negroes are alike and are not worthy of the effort required for making distinctions as to intelligence, education and character. A cat was kicked in New York because he had a moustache that looked like Hitler's. The Gestapo tortured or killed entire families for the actions of family members. A Lidice may suffer as a whole for the action of a single villager. Hate ramifies from culture to breed, from leaders to followers, from parents to children. The American frontier created the phrase "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." The German people may suffer like their victims for this peculiarity of human nature.

It is easy and simple and lazy to regard Germans as out-group members sharing equally undesirable traits. This was the attitude of Hitler towards Jews. This is the co-fallacy in other racial doctrines. This is the basis of a million forms of injustice. It is a way of thought basically hostile to the individualism of our democratic creed yet often practiced in the name of democracy.

Germans differ, as do Americans, and there are even differences among Nazis. It should be remembered that Nazi party membership increased from some 500,000 to some 10 million during the course of the Hitler regime. Members of youth organizations graduated automatically at a certain age into party membership. Party membership was required of many officials and persons in public life. Party membership for many Germans meant lack of moral courage but not necessarily acceptance of the Nazi creed. It is granted, of course, that the efforts of some Germans to justify party membership are fantastic. A former official in the Reichsbank, for example, asserted that he was a fervent anti-Nazi at heart yet he joined the party. There was no selfish motive back of this, of course, he merely wanted to bore from within and use his high position to restrain Nazi activities.

Granting the common human tendency of Germans to justify themselves and their works what are some of the varieties of Nazi? There is the Nazi gangster-cunning, ruthless, and fanatical. There is the slick business man or perhaps official who is opportunistic, unprincipled and quick to seek favor of the party in the interest of jobs and profits. Such men quickly switch their loyalties to Allied officials and are puzzled if hypocrisy, bootlicking and bribery fail to work. There are intelligent, educated Germans who went along but with protest and with guilt feelings now sharpened by the ruin of Germany and the verdict of the world. There are the fair weather Nazis who liked patriotic thrills, the excitement of demonstrations, magical solutions of economic problems, fruits of easy victories, and ego expansion through vicarious success. They now feel deceived and betrayed, not because Naziism was inherently evil, but because its apparent success did not continue. There is the German nationalist feeling so strongly about the fatherland that he could accept Hitlerism not because it was good but because it was generalized as German. There were Nazi idealists, especially among women and

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Non-Nazis include the dull Hausfrau who never quite knew what it was all about, who left politics to her husband and thought only of family and food. Sociological thinking was not in her line but stupidity, ignorance and laziness of mind can reap the consequences of sin. There is the little man of the Ruhr—Catholic, trade-unionist, perhaps both, who is suspicious of Hitler's picture above the director's desk and honestly convinced from the beginning that Hitler would bring to the little man of Germany work, war and ruin. Less cynical and apathetic was the ardent anti-Nazi genuinely willing to accept German defeat as the price of liberty. And there are, of course, a few of the fighters surviving the concentration camps, perhaps hating Hitler less now than do the inactive foes of Naziism whose hate festered because it did not find expression in action and sacrifice. There are plenty of Germans who hate Hitler now because they hate themselves.

What does it mean to generalize about all Germans as a hated out-group and to ignore distinctions calling for mental effort? Merely that the innocent are punished with the guilty, that friends are treated like foes and cease to be friends, that a war is waged to defeat a people rather than a menacing ideology and that one of the most characteristic traits of the Nazi mind is allowed to flourish in our own thinking and lead us perhaps to folly such as brought the ruin of the German nation.

(6) There is a tendency to deal with outgroups in terms of symbols very commonly personified. Caricatures of Hitler, Hirohito and Mussolini absolved people from the mental effort required for a sober analysis of the Axis powers. To haul down a swastika flag is easier than to exorcise the Fascist demon from the nervous systems of contemporary human beings. It is easier to think of victory as the end of a terrible war than to analyze the fruits and costs of victory.

The pertinent implication now is that

there is a danger of assuming that removal of the symbols of Fascism constitutes a defeat of Fascism. The charred body of Hitler (if it be his) or the battered body of Mussolini hanging in a public square are symbols of defeat but still symbols rather than reality. Adolph and Benito still exist in the nervous systems of millions of people. There is a sociological immortality about ideas and ideals both good and bad. To pull down one flag and haul up another is a pleasant symbolic experience but it does not mean that the things for which one flag stands have automatically replaced all things symbolized by the other flag. It is true, of course, that if war is purely a matter of deciding by force which group wins and which loses, then defeat brings victory and victory is its own reward.

Much has been said and written about the importance of winning the peace but little about how to do it. It still needs to be pointed out that the alleged war and peace aims, beyond mere military victory, will not be fully attained by symbols such as surrender ceremonies, victory parades, continued gestures of hatred, new boundary lines, or even signed documents describing organization and procedure for the preservation of peace. The test will be the kind of people that survive the war, how they think, how they feel and how they really act toward each other. If there are Germans basically in sympathy with the alleged war aims of the Allied powers they would share ultimately in a true victory. Has the victory been real?

(7) Another pertinent generalization is that in the course of conflict between ingroups and out-groups there is a tendency to borrow characteristics of the opponent. The Germans bombed Rotterdam and Coventry and ultimately the Allies carried to maturity terror as an instrument of air war. There are implications of fighting fire with fire which go far beyond the extended reach of modern Allied flamethrowers.

There are two implications which are worth emphasizing. One is the danger of

more or less unconsciously borrowing Nazi ideas and methods in the very process of defeating Naziism. The displacement of Japanese from the West Coast is not dissimilar to some of Hitler's grandiose reshuffling of peoples. Among soldiers who risked their lives defeating Hitler anti-Semitic statements are not uncommon. The Nazis looted in a grand manner. Persons on the Allied side may come to think that that was not such a bad idea. The Nazis worked effectively through puppet governments. There is some reason to think that administrative convenience can be placed above principle.

Censorship was a feature of Nazi policy. Practiced among the Allies as a military necessity the temptation arises to use it as a weapon against a political opponent or to conceal mistakes and ineptitudes, A propaganda of truth was proposed as a weapon against the Goebbels machine but unfavorable or unpleasant truths do not always make effective propaganda. It is easy to weight effectiveness more and more heavily as over against truth.

The Nazi built a mighty war machine, partly as an end in itself. We could forget that military power is a means to an end. The military mind dominated Germany. In America the military mind could make increasing claims to competence in nonmilitary matters. The essence of the Nazi creed in a word was reliance upon force and fraud. Often in the history of the world people have come to worship the gods of

those they conquered.

Another implication of the inter-borrowing of peoples at war is less immediate. A war is a means of getting acquainted the hard way. Prolonged occupation of Germany would ultimately give more Americans more first hand knowledge about Germany and Germans than would be acquired in a corresponding number of years of peace. G.I.'s will unlearn playing with German children some of the things they thought they learned while shooting at German fathers. It is a hard and costly and inefficient way of getting acquainted but a series of world wars, if

the atomic bomb permitted a series of wars rather than one, could conceivably establish through inter-borrowing a cultural uniformity without which formal organizations may not actually work. Continued thought and concern about people we have come to know through conquest would speed up the unification of the world.

(8) Another generalization follows from the basic concept of an in-group out-group relationship, namely, that learning and leadership are most effective when identified with the in-group. Children often imitate playmates more readily than adults. Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" could circulate freely in America not only because of our tradition of the freedom of the press but also because it seemed inconceivable that the symbol of an out-group could be taken seriously. The message and influence of the stranger, the foreigner, the outsider and the enemy, other things being equal, are relatively lacking in influence. Hirohito as an in-group leader has been an effective tool in Allied hands.

There are many practical implications in this. We can best transmit the essentials of our democratic heritage to Germans by means of Germans who are recognized members of the German in-group and yet thoroughly familiar with the ideals which we feel Germans should know for our safety and theirs. If distinctions are made between Germans, German leaders can be found to run the schools and edit the newspapers that will ultimately shape the German mind and function not as hated puppets but as exponents of the best in the German heritage.

It is probable that much of our propaganda is discounted because it is ours and has an authoritative, moralistic and emotional character. Posters in German cities portray heaps of corpses and assure Germans that they are indirectly guilty of the torture and death of hundreds of thousands of such victims. It might be far better merely to present irrefutable first hand factual evidence to leading Germans and let them gradually inform the mass of German people who otherwise for a much longer time might evade the grim truth by the comfortable rationalization t again graph have bodies credu

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tion that it was Nazi propaganda all over again with selected evidence, faked photographs and distorted truth. The Germans have been shown plenty of pictures of dead bodies by Goebbels before and now feel that credulity led to their betrayal and downfall.

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There is plenty of raw material with which to work within Germany. Naziism is discredited and new values are resurgent. There is some evidence that people are turning to religion which is little restricted by in-group barriers. An artistic revival could flourish with encouragement. There is work to be done and Germans have rarely been accused of sloth and indolence. Of course much depends on the basic decision as to whether Germany is to be friend or foe. If Germany is to be a permanent foe it would be mere realism to stop talking about re-education and reduce Germans to the status of ignorant, superstitious peasants. That would be an end to the Krupps and Beethovens that Germany has offered the world.

(9) Another generalization is that in the process of social change there is a tendency to move in the direction of some kindred and therefore congenial pattern of living. American officers and officials have been startled by the docility, obedience and discipline of the Germans under the occupation. This phenomenon means simply that one sociological law may take precedence over another. Cultural congeniality may have priority over in-group learning and leadership. Order and discipline are understandable and congenial to Germans even if administered by outsiders and conquerors.

But the implications of this generalization are far broader. They involve not only Germany but the two great power systems remaining in the world, namely Russia and the United States. Any person attempting to play a sociological role must honestly attempt to answer the question "What is this vague thing called Fascism which supposedly we fought in fighting the Axis powers and how does it relate to the pattern of life in communist Russia?" Germans with a cynical sense of humor and a great desire to drive a wedge between the Allies compare

Nazi Germany and Communist Russia by saying "It is colder in Russia."

It is reasonable to assume that Fascism. whether of the Italian or German variety, is no one thing but rather a pattern of values, methods and varied features of social organization. The outstanding components are: "(1) Dictatorship; (2) Closely regulated State-Capitalism (a collectivistic capitalism): (3) A one-party political organization; (4) An organic theory of social organization, according to which the individual is merely a cell in the body politic; (5) The leadership principle operating through a hierarchy pledged to obedience and discipline; (6) Intense nationalism: (7) Militarism: (8) Suppression of civil liberties for the social good as seen by dictator and party; (9) Repressive machinery, including spies, secret police, and a party militia; (10) Reliance upon propaganda and censorship to create uniform Fascist attitudes; (11) A legal system based not on contract or individual rights but rather indicating the minimum which must be done in service of the state; (12) The identification of education and propaganda; (13) The indoctrination and discipline of young people through youth organizations; (14) The maintenance of emotional excitement ('high moral tension') by frequent public spectacles and ceremonies; (15) Acceptance of evidence and imprisonment as political weapons (penal islands and concentration camps); (16) The inciting of hatred against real or alleged political enemies; (17) A patriarchal theory of family life which lays stress upon reproduction; (20) Purely nationalistic ethics."

One could argue that any system is Fascist in proportion to the number of Fascist traits and their intensity. It is startling to note the numerous points of similarity between the Soviet system and the now defunct Nazi regime. It is true that Russia went in for government ownership rather than government regulation, that the race doctrine

¹ Clifford Kirkpatrick, "The Rise of Fascism," War In The Twentieth Century, Willard Waller, Ed. (1940). P. 298.

is replaced by a class doctrine and that the original Communist ideology was internationalistic rather than nationalistic. In Russia there was a more tolerant attitude toward the evolution of democratic reforms and the conception of family life is feministic. Nevertheless, the resemblances are striking especially in view of recent Russian nationalism. Germans in general have a tremendous fear of the Russians based on a guilty conscience regarding atrocities which took place in Russia. Yet both German business men and German workers talk of a swing in Germany toward Communism. Discounting propaganda, there is still sociological justification for the claim that the Russian brand of totalitarianism could be congenial and understandable to Germans in spite of ruthless excesses committeed by Russians. To have that which has been discredited under another and contrasting name could be an attractive possibility to bewildered and disillusioned Germans. Given sheer power Russian nationalistic communism like Nazijsm can make converts.

Whether Germans are converted to Communism in Russian zones or subjected to vengeful mass deportations leaving only a helpless peasant country there remains the problem of adjusting the Capitalist-Democratic power system to the Totalitarian-Communist-Soviet system, Russia will grow stronger economically. There will be a vast relative increase in population. In Germany and the Balkans there will be a frontier between the two great power systems. We have proven twice our unwillingness to see England defeated by a continental power regardless of the diplomatic background including perhaps British mistakes. We should not allow wartime feeling against Germany to become generalized to the point that German warnings about the congeniality of National Socialism and Russian Communism are arbitrarily dismissed as false propaganda designed to split the democratic solidarity of Allied nations. It would be ironic to find a bloody war fought against the playing of certain roles resulting in the continuance

of the play with merely a new and stronger

(10) The final generalization is that human beings have certain common requirements for individual and social adjustment; namely, clear-cut aspirations with the possibility of realizing these aspirations in ways commanding social approval. A similar thought is expressed by the proposition that people need a task, a plan, freedom and responsibility. Lacking such, it is hard for an individual or a nation to live without venting confusion and frustration in aggres-

sive behavior against others.

Fundamentally we must destroy Germans as hardened criminals beyond redemption or readjust them as decent citizens of the world. It is not sensible to follow both policies at the same time with the same people. If some Germans are to be accepted as potential friends they need to have clear-cut aspirations which can be realized with the approval of the civilized world. In spite of in-group complacency there are millions of Germans who have guilt feelings and the aspiration to make amends through acceptance of constructive punishment. Germans might aid in the reconstruction of Europe given the proper policy in a way which would give them their own self-respect as well as the respect of the world. A confused and bewildered people need a clarification of aspirations that can only come with a clearly expressed and a consistently enforced policy on the part of their conquerors.

For the mental hygiene of Germans it is unfortunate that they were conquered not by one but by several nations. Even were they conquered by the United States alone they might have suffered from confusion and uncertainty of aspirations due to the conflicting trends of public opinion characteristic of a democracy. Furthermore, policies that come with war inevitably clash with those pertaining to peace.

It has been argued that processes of learning and leadership coming from within a group are most effective. Yet there is danger that the stigma of defeat, humiliation,

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starvation, and punishment by outsiders could fall on a democratic movement developing within Germany just as the Weimar Republic suffered from the generalized identification of social conditions with the leadership during these unhappy periods. It will be a difficult task to associate that which we approve with realizable aspirations rather than confusion and frustration.

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There is danger in applying the wealth of sociological evidence concerning delinquents and criminals to problems of collective criminology. Yet it is unlikely that peoples any more than persons are reformed and adjusted by preaching and punishment. In our own society juvenile delinquents can be reformed by the stimulation of clear-cut acceptable aspirations realized socially through participation in constructive group activity. Society must provide either patience and scientific understanding or pay the price in terms of police, prisons, and the usual costs of continued crime. The United States, and indeed the world, can pay for reform or pay for war.

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There are tremendous difficulties in applying the non-precise laws of sociology to the shaping and carrying through of a policy in regard to Germany leading to peace rather than war. By comparison the prediction and control of the flight of a V-bomb is relatively simple. The time element is important. A friendly policy which might have worked shortly after V-E Day might be disastrous after Germans were subjected for a period to a policy of non-fraternization, generalized moral condemnation and starvation. A firm policy is more dangerous after an enemy has become strong. Often, a policy to be effective must have an organic unity. A compromise mixture of two contrasting policies may work about as effectively as a handful of parts from various watches. There are questions as baffling as that of the priority of the hen and the egg. Do attitudes precede organization and political structure or are attitudes and ideals developed by such for-

mal arrangements? Policy should be consistent yet it should change with circumstances. Perhaps it is as absurd to expect military men to lay the foundations for an enduring peace as it would be to expect front line infantrymen to perform delicate surgery and carry out a public health program. All situations in this contrasting world are in relation to other situations. What to do about Germany is related to Russia and to unknown thoughts in Stalin's mind. People react to a certain stimulus, say aerial bombing, in a certain way but others show exactly the opposite reaction. The rebuffed friend may become the bitterest foe. Truly the sociologist and psychologist deal with the most complicated natural phenomenon to be found in the known universe.

No clear-cut blueprint for the handling of Germany in the interest of a peaceful and civilized world emerges from the application to the situation of some existing sociological principles. Four conclusions, however, seem to follow from the assumptions and reasonings of this article.

(a) The people of this earth have common, human characteristics, in spite of individual and cultural differences, which make for harmony and understanding when the barriers established by in-group out-group relationships and the corresponding divergent conceptions of reality are removed. Communication, contact and access to the same facts may be more important for peace than world trade or world federation. The tremendous power and prestige the United States should be used to force removal of restrictions upon the getting-acquainted-process between the common peoples of the earth. Freedom of press, speech and travel can to some extent be purchased by food and loans and the taste for such freedom grows with its exercise. There are ways of getting acquainted more effective and less expensive than those provided by war.

(b) There is danger of a Fascist or at least a totalitarian victory in spite of the overwhelming success of American arms. It

can come from dealing with symbols rather than with reality, from a subtle and devious borrowing from the enemy, from indiscriminating generalizations and from ignoring the fact that war makes strange bed-fellows, and from stimuli to the Fascist pattern inherent in postwar maladjustments.

(c) There is need for prompt, clear-cut decisions and policies to guide ourselves and the Germans whom we have defeated but not exterminated. The seeds of future wars can be sown in the very act of making peace. The historian of the future will trace the origins of World War III to the present day and to precious days and weeks already past. To be effective as friend or foe requires promptness and the paying of a price. The United States is in the best position to experiment with friendliness in its dealings with the world, but if internationalism proves a delusion a nationalistic policy should be prompt and consistent. National survival

depends on friends as well as foes. If mankind should achieve the supreme folly of a war between the United States and Russia it would be better to have Germans as friends.

(d) The final conclusion is that sociological thinking as defined in this article is part of the price that must be paid for all things of value. H. G. Wells, who prophetically wrote of atomic bombs many years ago, also wrote of the "race between education and catastrophe." Such men of clear vision see mankind not walking but running toward a precipice and must shout warnings in a strange and complicated language. We are told that the price of the atomic bomb was two billion dollars. As much or more could well be spent on the fostering of social science. This is the first installment of the price which must be paid for a peace which is becoming synonymous with the survival of the human race.

THE STATUS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF OCCUPATIONAL RESEARCH

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exists among sociologists. Ina period when popular opinion has been forcibly directed toward vital changes in the national occupational scene, and after decades of study and research in the field of social interaction, one of the most significant of all types of behavior has remained largely unexplored. That is the interrelationship of occupational and nonoccupational behaviors—or, to be more precise, the study of the interrelationships between occupational specialization and social differentiation,

The sociological implications of this lag are enormous. Sociologists and social psychologists have concentrated their efforts upon a wide variety of fields of individual and social behavior (e.g. family, gang, formal associations, educational processes), and have succeeded in amassing a great body of significant data relevant to the myriad relationships of interaction between individuals and their culture. Yet of all such interactive relationships, probably the most important is that of occupational adjustment and the influence of that adjustment upon one's total way of life. It is this field that remains practically a closed book to the social scientist. This brief paper will attempt first to review the present status of occupational research, and second to indicate the significance of such research to an understanding of the behavior of individuals in modern society.

The influence of occupational activity upon the total way of life of individuals has always elicited some interest. Occupational stereotypes derived from casual observation are common to most cultures both past and present, and have tended even to become embodied in tradition and mythology.

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In ancient Rome, for example, the soldier, the lawmaker, the prostitute, the slave and the tutor were common occupational stereotypes. In medieval Europe the artisan, the tradesman, the farmer and the monk were among the more common types. In modern society occupational stereotypes have increased both in number and in familiarity, although not necessarily in authenticity, and even a child is acquainted with popularized versions of the politician, the physician, the reporter, the opera singer, the Negro train porter, the college professor, etc.

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The influence of occupational activity upon the total way of life of individuals became a major concern when the Industrial Revolution necessitated widespread changes in the living habits of millions. Industrialization and urbanization decreed many new modes of life for masses of people. International markets, financial manipulations, increasing labor reserves and market demands, not the immediate caprices of nature, determined how much a man would earn and hence how he would live. Occupation became more than simply a factor which affected one's way of life; for many, it became the predominant factor which determined whether or not life could be sustained at all.

The Industrial Revolution also decreed many new adjustment patterns affecting the welfare of practically all workers. The medieval trade guilds, traditionally concerned mainly with ingroup standards, gave way to the forces of the new economy, Trade, professional and labor associations eventually were organized to protect the interests of their members. Employers became concerned with the health, and later even with the attitudes of their workers. Management grew into a specialized field; trade schools flourished: some schools even introduced vocational training. Women began to leave the hallowed confines of the home to enter the plant and the office, and then the feminist movement flourished. Labor unions began their long and often bloody fight to achieve a higher standard of living. In fact, by the close of the first World War, occupation

had become such a major concern in the lives of most individuals that in many countries the majority political appeals were being directed to the "working man" or "labor."

(This growing concern with occupations resulted in an increasing knowledge relevant to various aspects of human behavior. Industrial management (so-called industrial psychology) began to utilize clinical and laboratory findings in order to increase workers' efficiency. Paternalistic programs of employer-employee relationships were initiated on the basis of tested psychological principles of suggestion and stimulation, Life, accident and health companies were able to further refine death and accident expectancy tables on the basis of specific occupational experience; and investigators in this field soon began to visualize the overall influence of one's occupation upon his total way of life.1

Yet in spite of this growing recognition of the significance of occupational activity in the lives of individuals, actual studies of occupational-nonoccupational relationships have been surprisingly few.² Such studies as

¹The outstanding workers in this field probably are Dublin and Lotka. Within the limitations of their type of data, these writers have concluded that:

[&]quot;The work a man does, the conditions under which his work is done, and the wages he receives for doing it determine in great measure the circumstances of his life, the house he lives in, the clothes he wears, the food he eats, and his recreation. A man's occupation is, therefore, one of the most potent factors in deciding the state of his health and fixing the length of his life." L. I. Dublin and A. J. Lotka, Length of Life, N.Y., Ronald Press, 1936, p. 220.

² An analysis and a representative bibliography of the so-called economic approach to social organization can be found in P. Sorokin. Contemporary Sociological Theories, N.Y., Harper and Bros., 1928, Chapter X "Economic School," pp. 514-599. Particularistic theories and studies relative to occupational influences upon human behavior also can be found in Sorokin, Ibid., pp. 717-719. See also E. T. Hiller, Principles of Sociology, N.Y., Harper and Bros., 1933, Chapter XXXIII "Vocation and Personality," pp. 523-540, for the more common generalizations in this field and for a typical bibliography on this subject.

have been either consist largely of generalized accounts (usually of personal experiences), or are concerned only with a few phases of the total relationship. Typical of the former type are F. R. Donovan's study of the waitress as an occupational type,3 and her later studies of the saleslady and the schoolteacher4 as occupational stereotypes. These studies are interesting autobiographical accounts of the author's experiences in these three specific occupations,5 but although they may be notable as pioneers in this field of interest, subsequent studies of occupational types have utilized more exacting methods and have yielded more objective results.6

The second type of studies namely, those concerned with a few specific aspects of the total occupational-nonoccupational relationship, have become quite common. The Russell Sage Foundation, for example, has sponsored intensive objective studies of a few professional groups. These studies have been concerned mainly with an analysis of the professional associations, the curriculi and requirements of the approved schools of training, the number of members within the profession and their incomes, and social trends affecting the group as a whole. Other

studies somewhat similar to those sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation have been made under the auspices of various medical, legal and educational associations.

But all the studies of the various types mentioned have had one essential weakness in terms of understanding more thoroughly the total behavior of individuals in modern society: that weakness has been the employment of an unidirectional rather than of an interrelated approach. In other words, the emphasis has been upon the various ways in which a specific occupational calling influences the individual behavior of members, but not upon the various and interrelated ways in which one's characteristic way of life is reflected in his occupational activities. Furthermore, such studies have failed to indicate the relationship of specific ways of life (induced predominantly by occupational

specialization) in terms of the behavior patterns characteristic of the larger society

within which such groups function.

Both the sociological and the psychological significance of such an approach as that suggested here have long been indicated. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, Adam Smith had contended that the division of labor was a cause, not an effect, of social differentiation.8 Not until more than a century later did another writer seriously consider this problem of the relationship between occupational specialization and social differentiation. At that time, Emile Durkheim offered the hypothesis that occupational specialization served to free individuals from the "standardization of personality" which resulted from "collective action and hereditary influences."9 Although these two points

F. R. Donovan, The Woman Who Waits, Boston, R. G. Badger, 1920.

⁴F. R. Donovan, *The Saleslady*, Chicago, Univ. Chicago Press, 1929; *The Schoolma'am*, N.Y., Stokes

and Co., 1938.

⁶ Examples of such studies are E. H. Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937; C. R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930; N. Anderson, *The Hobo*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1923; and W. F. Cottrell, *The Rail-Roader*, Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1939.

The purpose of these studies, as explained in the Preface to E. L. Brown, *The Professional Engineer*, N.Y., Russell Sage Foundation, 1936, is stated as follows: "... those facts have been chosen that seem to explain the reasons why a

particular group has reached its present degree of effectiveness."

Durkeim's remarks in this regard, according to

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⁵ A description of the nature of Donovan's studies is given by R. E. Park in his introduction to *The Saleslady*, p. viii: "It is in manner impressionistic and descriptive rather than systematic and formal. The book she has written... has more the character of a personal narrative and a report of observations than of a systematic treatise."

Adam Smith's own words are: "The difference of natural talent in different men is, in reality, much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown up to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause as the effect of the division of labor." An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, N.Y., Dutton and Co., Everyman's Edition No. 412 (2 vols.), Vol. 1, p. 14.

of view are not identical nor have they ever been tested empirically, they do indicate the first significant recognition of the fact that occupational and nonoccupational activity may be closely and significantly interrelated.

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But in spite of the obviously significant questions raised by Adam Smith and Emile Durkheim, the total problem was not attacked except in the specific fields mentioned above; yet generalizations about the importance of this occupational-nonoccupational relationship consistently increased. Textbooks in sociology, for example, abounded in such generalizations; 10 but significant is the fact that such generalizations failed to stimulate further research in this field. Needless to say, such generalizations have usually been supported only by meager and often unconvincing data.

Approaching this problem from the point of view expressed by Durkheim, E. C. Hughes published in 1928 what is probably the first scientific article in which the interrelation between occupational and nonoccupational activity was formulated into a specific sociological problem of major in-

specific sociological problem of major inthe translation by G. Simpson, are; "... far
from being trammelled by the progress of specialization, individual personality develops with the
division of labor ... for individual natures, while
specializing, become more complex, and by that
are in part freed from collective action and hereditary influences which can only enforce themselves
upon simple, general things." Emile Durkheim on
the Division of Labor in Society, N.Y., Macmillan,

According to Sorokin, op. cit., pp. 467-471, Durkheim considered the division of labor, itself a variable, as the cause of social differentiation. The division of labor evidently was a result of the increased density of population. See also F. B. Karpf, American Social Psychology, N.Y., McGraw-Hill, 1932, p. 118, for an extensive treatment of Durkheim's view.

1933, pp. 403-404.

¹⁰ The following is an example of such generalizations: "We may mention finally the influence of the occupational group he [the child] joins. The facts, habits, and attitudes he acquires if he becomes a soldier will not be those he would add (sic) if he became a priest, or an engineer, or a farmer, or a teacher." W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, Sociology, N.Y., Houghton Mifflin, 1940, p. 208. See also Hiller, op. cit., p. 523.

terest. Borrowing his concepts and arguments from Durkheim's classical treatment, Hughes contended that initial studies of this problem have been significantly fruitful; but his conclusions and references do not substantiate his claim.11 In 1934, R. Bell redefined the problem formulated by Hughes and indicated certain specific aspects which would need to be investigated. Like Hughes, Bell was primarily concerned with the influence of specific occupational activity upon the personality of an individual (not with the complete interrelation between occupational specialization and social differentiation); but unlike Hughes, Bell admitted that no significant studies in this field had ever been made.12

In recent years three well-executed studies of selected aspects of the total occupational-nonoccupational interrelationship have appeared. The first was P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson's study of occupational mobility and of the relationship between specific occupations and the vertical and horizontal mobility of individuals in a small Western city.¹³ The second was L. C. Ros-

¹¹ E. C. Hughes, "Personality Types and the Division of Labor," Amer. Jnl. Sociol., XXXIII, No. 5 (March, 1928), p. 754.

¹² Bell's remarks on this point are: "... no similar careful measurement of the effect upon mental growth and development in various vocations has been made... How can we expect to predict performance accurately from our measuring instruments if we do not know specifically what abilities they measure, or what demands are made by specific social situations upon those abilities?" "Measurement of Abilities and Aptitudes," Occupations, XII, No. 7 (March, 1934), p. 68.

The above journal, Occupations, is most representative of the vast vocational guidance movement, as well as being the organ of the official body, the National Occupational Conference. The contents of this journal illustrate that the whole vocational guidance field operates within a very limited body of significant data relevant to the nature, demands and compensations made by various occupations—as Bell's article candidly admits.

¹² P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, Occupational Mobility in an American Community, Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1937.

One of the most valuable studies to date, although limited to objective data of a limited sort, is the above authors' Occupational Trends in the

ten's study of the influence of the social, economic and educational background of Washington correspondents upon the news they write. The third was W. F. Cottrell's study of the way of life of railroaders, with special attention given to the technological aspects of railroading as they affect the economic interests of the employees. None of these three studies, however, purports to be comprehensive.

One of the more recent developments in this field has been the construction (largely by psychologists) of "occupational profiles." These profiles are an attempt to characterize specific occupational types in terms of certain personality traits and groups of traits in conjunction with life-history factors. Initial studies of salesgirls, clerical workers, garage mechanics, and nurses and policemen-by the use of batteries of tests which attempt to measure formal education, I.Q., clerical ability, spatial relations, self-sufficiency, extroversion, dominance, etc.-have become quite numerous. Conclusions from initial studies of this type, however, have as yet tended to avoid consideration of causal factors and have been limited largely to description.16

Another recent development has been the attempt to determine and measure "job satisfaction." Since the pioneer title by Hoppock¹⁷ suggested the vast potentialities of this field

of research, a wide variety of studies have been made in the attempt to learn why some workers like (but usually dislike) their vocations. Most of these studies, however, are admittedly interested in a narrow problem; and cannot pretend to be concerned with the myriad and complex problems inherent in a study of the total interrelationship between a specific occupation and the total way of life of its members.¹⁸

One writer finally has grasped the significance of the problem originally raised by Adam Smith, In 1939, A. B. Hollingshead stated in an article that (the sociologist and anthropologist should include within the focus of their attention the behavior systems of definable functional groups. He went on to stress the apparently obvious albeit unexploited fact that individuals in modern societies necessarily function in restricted "behavior systems" (ways of life); hence it is no longer reliable scientifically to speak of social or individual behavior in generalized terms and in reference to the totality of the culture. (The ethnologists had long ago come to this conclusion.)

He further pointed out that of all the factors and forces which influence the various general and specific "reaction systems" found in any given culture occupational activities undoubtedly are the most significant in our society. In closing, Hollingshead warned that ". . . until a considerable number of these action systems have been studied, the sociologist's knowledge of the reciprocal nature of culture, society, and the person perforce must remain vague and at best highly fragmentary." 19

According to Hollingshead, analyses of behavior systems should concentrate on three problems: definition of the system, its life history, and its relation to the larger society. He goes on to specify various de-

15 W. F. Cottrell, loc. cit.

¹⁷ R. Hoppock, Job Satisfaction, N.Y., Harpers, 1935. Cf. N. F. Daugherty, Occupational Planning for Tomorrow, N.Y., R. R. Smith, 1944. of this tion of to sociotems; a of the linteract behavior dicates is inher however of the pioneer profess upon the situation of the pioneer profess upon the situation of the si

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U. S., Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1940.
"L. C. Rosten, The Washington Correspondents, N.Y., Harcourt Brace, 1937.

The following indicates the type of conclusions reached from such studies: "... we may say that generally (1) different occupational groups differ in general intelligence, in special abilities, and interests, and (2) the members of a given vocation resemble one another in these respects ... present indications are that an occupational profile shows characteristic deviations from the profile of the population at large and also from the profiles of other occupations." L. W. Crafts, T. C. Schneirla, E. E. Robinson, and R. W. Gilbert, Recent Experiments in Psychology, N.Y., McGraw-Hill, 1938, Chapter XVI "The Abilities and Personality Traits of Different Occupational Groups," pp. 233-242.

¹⁸ See, e.g., R. Hoppock and T. J. Hand, "Job Satisfaction Researches of 1942-43," *Occupations*, XXIII, No. 7 (April, 1945), p. 412. Cf. *Ibid.*, 4/38, 10/40, 2/43

¹⁹ A. B. Hollingshead, "Behavior Systems as a Field for Research," *Amer. Sociol. Review*, IV, No. 6 (Dec. 1939), p. 816.

tailed aspects of these three major problems and then hypothesizes two major objectives of this type of research: (1) the formulation of general propositions indispensable to sociological theory about behavior systems; and (2) the discovery of the relation of the behavior system to the person in his interactional group. His illustration of the behavior system of professional cooks indicates the wealth of significant data which is inherent in this type of research. To date, however, the writer knows of only one study of the type suggested by Hollingshead: a pioneer study of the behavior system of professional dance musicians with emphasis upon the interrelation between the work situations and the way of life of this unique occupational group.20

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The significant aspects of occupational research are threefold: (1) This type of analysis appears to be the most fruitful in understanding the reciprocal interactions of individuals and their cultural configurations. The time for generalizations about individual and social behavior has long passed. By now, attention should be concentrated on specific "arcs" or segments (as the ethnologists would put it) of the total culture pattern; and the functional behavior system seems to be the most vital and fruitful area of research in our society. (2) The adjustment of an individual to his vocation has been and is being studied, but only in the narrow sense of selecting the most efficient workers for specific tasks. The larger problem (as Bell21 suggested but which has been ignored), should include the adjustment of the occupation to the individual. This requires detailed studies of the influence of specific occupations upon the total way of life of their members. (3) The third phase concerns the interrelationship of the various occupational behavior systems in terms of

the American culture pattern as a totality, so that (as Hollingshead suggests) social scientists can formulate basic principles of predictable behavior based upon a thorough knowledge of all causal relationships.

Even within a rapidly changing occupational scene, large bodies of co-ordinated data relevant to specific occupations would greatly facilitate the adjustment problems of countless individuals. All those concerned with trying to fit people into desired occupations would have at their disposal detailed analyses of what-financially, socially, psychologically, intellectually, morally and physically-specific occupations have to offer the neophyte. Instead of the present clumsy tools employed to "screen" persons into specific tasks, sociologists could offer to the occupational counselor a vast body of facts which would permit the prediction of job satisfaction to a highly reliable degree.

As the writer has found in the case of professional dance musicians, and the same would undoubtedly be true in many other skilled occupations, a thorough occupational analysis reveals the various factors inherent in a specific occupational calling which: (a) attract members into it; (2) determine their personal and professional adjustment within it; (3) determine both success and job satisfaction; (4) influence their way of life outside of it; and (5) explain the complex interrelation of the various behavior systems which together make up the American culture pattern.

It is now possible to predict statistically, for example, in the case of professional dance musicians, such a wide variety of factors as the following: why young persons are attracted to it; the relationship between technical and/or academic training and financial success; the probable age at marriage and the probable type of woman chosen for a wife; the average size of family and reasons for its limitation; the degree and type of job and residential mobility; the average income, savings, investment in life insurance, and purchase of stocks, bonds and real property; the type and extent of leisure-time activities; the probabilities of

21 R. Bell, loc. cit.

²⁰ C. L. Lastrucci, "The Professional Dance Musician," *Jnl. Musicology*, III, No. 3 (Winter, 1941), p. 168. Cf. J. M. Wallace, Jr., F. W. Williams, and H. Cantril, "Identification of Occupational Groups with Economic and Social Class," *Jnl. Abnormal and Social Psych.*, 39, No. 4 (Oct. 1944), p. 482.

divorce, venereal disease, and addiction to alcohol or narcotics; the probable occupational-life span and the degree of job dissatisfaction at various ages. Such a study also answers such vital questions as: how and why did this particular occupation evolve as it has? How is it related to other allied occupations in terms of the type and degree of atypicalness of its members? What are the trends within it? What chances does a newcomer have to deviate, if he should be so inclined, and what price does he pay for his deviation from the occupational wayof-life norm? What influence does the school have upon the adjustment problems of this group? and the church? and society at large? In other words, what is actually in store for a person when he decides, for example, that he would like to become a professional dance musician?22

This problem is not one which concerns simply the workers in the field of vocational guidance, although even that field still operates within a highly limited range of empirical data. Nor does it concern the mental hygienists alone, although they are continually required to answer many problems arising from occupational adjustment. It is not

limited to industrial psychologists who must select efficient employees and then try to keep them happy (i.e., efficient), although they could well utilize such material. It is not limited to educators, who today more than ever before are faced with the immense task of both vocational and social education. It actually concerns every individual in modern society, for all individuals must make an occupational choice and then must adapt themselves to a way of life which has been in many cases largely predetermined for them. In this sense, the problem of understanding the interrelation between specific occupations and social differentiation is one of the outstanding problems which confront the sociologist today. Since all the preliminary work has been done, it is hoped that this problem will be attacked on a wide scale.23

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²² C. L. Lastrucci, loc. cit.

²³ A future article on this subject will outline the methods utilized and problems experienced by the writer in his study of dance musicians. Perhaps it would be helpful to mention at this point that a variety of research technics are indicated by the complex nature of the task; and that the methods used would probably need to be modified for each specific occupational group. Some degree of standardization of problems and results, however, could easily be achieved even with diverse occupational groups.

WARTIME CONTROLS IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

EDGAR C. McVoy U. S. Department of Agriculture

T IS THE contention of those who oppose democracy as a method of government that a democracy is so cumbersome that it cannot mobilize for quick action to meet the exigencies of war. It is also maintained that a democracy cannot control or discipline its people sufficiently to carry through a program requiring a high degree of mobilization of national resources. The main contention is that authority is not sufficiently centralized and the people not adequately schooled in obedience to provide quick and decisive action on a national scale.

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Some of our experiences in the present war are useful in assessing whether a democracy is capable of a high degree of mobilization, and if so, what methods it employs. Probably the most pertinent example would be the methods used by the United States to control manpower and to channel it into the most urgent wartime needs. This article is not intended as a comprehensive analysis of our wartime manpower program. It will deal primarily with the system of local committees set up to apportion labor to the most urgent needs. However, some background of the general manpower situation is necessary to view these committees in their proper perspective.

We entered the war with a problem of unemployment which had never been solved since the depression years. Therefore, in the early stages of war production, manpower was not a serious shortage problem. Later, as munitions industries mushroomed and the demands for a large number of workers quickly materialized, the workers were recruited largely through offering high wage levels for munitions industries and depending on migration to supplement labor forces within the localities.

By 1943 it became apparent that we had reached a stage in the war at which a lack of sufficient manpower of the right skills in the proper places was one of the most serious drawbacks to full production. It became more and more apparent that voluntary methods of recruitment and dependence on competitive factors in allocating the labor force were inadequate to channel labor into war needs and to hold it there.

The first program for meeting the situation was the beginning of the employment stabilization program of the War Manpower Commission. There was instituted, first on the West Coast and later throughout the nation, a system of requiring certificates of availability if a worker wanted to leave an essential industry and to go into other work. This program still fell short of solving a serious shortage of workers in the aircraft industries on the West Coast because it was intended only to prevent turnover, and because there were so many ways of evading it.

Since the possibility of migration, or interregional recruitment, as it was called by the War Manpower Commission, to the West Coast was no longer practical because of the crowded living conditions and the lack of sources for recruitment, it was decided that the time had come to examine the allocation of labor within labor market areas. Studies were made, therefore, of the major West Coast cities in which labor shortages for aircraft and shipbuilding were most serious. It was discovered that sufficient labor was available in non-essential industries within the area to fill the demands if they could be transferred into the war plants.

Two steps were necessary before this transfer could be accomplished. First, by some means it had to be decided which were the industries of high urgency; and second, a method of channeling workers into these industries had to be devised.

Early attempts were made to accomplish both these ends through action from the Washington office of the War Manpower Commission. It soon became apparent, however, that this course of action would be ineffective because: (1) the War Manpower Commission in Washington was too far away to determine in detail which were the most urgent industries in West Coast communities; and (2) since it had no strong sanctions or penalties to apply for violations of its regulations, it still had to depend primarily on voluntary co-operation with its program.

Thus came into being a decentralized system of manpower control for labor market areas. In the cities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Portland, and Seattle, a dual committee structure was set up. First, Production Urgency Committees, function was to determine the relative urgency in reference to the war program of various plants within the area; second, Manpower Priorities Committees, whose function was to set up a system of priorities for referral of manpower by the U.S. Employment Service and to place manpower ceilings on plants. The ceiling was the maximum number of workers a plant could employ; it was intended to prevent labor hoarding over and above actual needs.

These committees were composed of representatives of various Federal agencies having an interest in war production. Thus, the concept of the "claimant agency," which had been originated in the allocation of critically short materials, was extended to the allocation of manpower. The following agencies normally were represented on these committees: Army Service Forces, Aircraft Resources Control Office (Army and Navy), Navy, Maritime Commission, War Food Administration, Smaller War Plants Corporation, War Manpower Commission (Chairman, Manpower Priorities Committee) and the following offices of the War Production Board-District Manager (usually Chairman of the Production Urgency Committee), Office of Civilian Requirements, and the Office of Labor Production. This system was later extended to more than 100 labor market areas in all parts of the nation.

In evaluating the activities of these com-

mittees, the first question which arises is, were they successful in accomplishing their purposes? The answer is yes, partially. Through the activities of these committees, the problem of staffing aircraft and other plants on the West Coast was greatly relieved. In some other areas, the committees also were effective, depending on how strong a position they took in the application of the ratings and ceilings, and how much cooperation they secured from labor and management in complying with their actions.

A brief analysis of specific functions of the committees is necessary in order to assess

their effectiveness adequately.

The first major function of the Production Urgency Committees was to review contracts placed by Government procurement agencies in labor shortage areas to determine whether manpower was available to fulfill the contract. In carrying out this function, the committees were virtually helpless. Only in a very few instances were contracts actually blocked by Production Urgency Committee Clearance. The Army or Navy or Maritime Commission ordinarily insisted that considerations other than manpower were compelling, such as the existence of suitable facilities, know-how of management, or comparative unit cost. Thus, tight industrial areas tended to become progressively tighter in labor supply.

The second major function of the Production Urgency Committees was that of assignment of urgency ratings, based on a 7-point scale according to importance in the war program and whether the product was critically short. In implementing this function, the committees had a tendency to go to one of two extremes. Some committees were highly restrictive in granting urgency ratings, so that only a few select plants got preference, even though there were many others which, on the basis of their product, might have merited equal treatment. Other committees granted so many high urgencies that it was impossible to begin to satisfy the labor demands of all. After the urgency and corresponding priority ratings were set, there was still the matter of controlling referrals
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ferrals in accordance with the ratings. There were so many "leaks" in the early stages of the program that a regulation was established channeling all referrals through the U. S. Employment Service. Even then, competitive factors, such as wage rates or stability of an industry and the development of a "black market" in labor, prevented a fully successful operation of the priority referral system.

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In an attempt to put "teeth" into the Government's manpower controls, the authorities tied them to allocation of critical materials (steel, copper, aluminum) and to authorization to construct facilities. Thus were created two more Production Urgency Committee functions; review of applications for controlled materials to determine whether manpower was available the production contemplated, similar review of proposed construction projects. In order to obtain steel for production other than that under direct military contract, an establishment had to pass the test not only of a fairly direct connection of his product with the war, but of not using manpower needed in the areas for more urgent production. The same test applied to new construction. Rather impressive percentages of denials of such applications for manpower reasons are recorded in the tight labor market areas. The major discrepancy in this program was that industries not needing controlled materials were subject only to the much less effective manpower ceiling program. On the construction side, there was a perennial argument in many Production Urgency Committees as to whether if all but the highest urgent construction projects were denied, building trades workers could be forced into production jobs in war plants. On the balance sheet, we can credit the Production Urgency Committees with fairly effective work in these functions.

The Manpower Priorities Committees set priority ratings based on the urgency set by the Production Urgency Committees. The U. S. Employment Service then gave preference in referrals of workers to those plants

having high priority ratings. These committees also set ceilings for male and sometimes for female workers, depending on how scarce each type of labor was in the given area. In the tighter areas, "non-essential" industries were supposed to have their ceilings cut in order to provide more labor for "essential" industries. The priority referral program operated with only a modicum of success. Since there were many exceptions permitted for protection of workers, competitive factors such as wage rates and desirability of the employment still had primary weight in determining where an employe would work. For men of draft age, the prospect of induction channeled many of them into "essential" industries. The acid test of this program came in the attempt to force workers in "non-essential" industries to transfer to critical war industries. This program succeeded only in a handful of communities and there only where voluntary agreements were reached to protect the seniority rights of workers and where management willingly released the workers.

Another pertinent factor in the operation of these committees is the amount of local autonomy granted the committees. In the early stages, the committees were given a good deal of authority locally, probably a maximum of authority in view of the fact that all members were employees of federal agencies. The whole idea at first was that men "on the spot" were in a better position to make a realistic appraisal of the labor needs in the area, always against a backdrop of guidance as to urgency of certain products nationally. As time went on, however, there was a tendency for the various agencies to provide more and more direction from headquarters. This trend applied particularly to the military agencies. The concept of local autonomy of a Captain or Lieutenant is diametrically opposed to the "line of command" process in a military hierarchy.

An appeals process was set up for the local Production Urgency Committees, with a committee in Washington to pass on decisions appealed from local committees. In many instances, the appeals committee decided issues "too hot to handle" locally, i.e., cases involving an important economic consideration to the community. The War Production Board developed a National Production Urgency List, commonly known as the "must list," which contained the highest urgency production programs. During late 1944 and early 1945, this list became so long that anything not on it could hardly compete for manpower in tight areas. In addition, an urgency guide was issued for practically all types of production. Thus, the committees became more and more "rubber stamps" for Washington action.

On many issues, the committees were divided into "military" and "civilian" blocs. The tendency on the part of the military procurement agencies was to define any program in which they had prime contracts or perhaps sub-contracts as "military" and any other program as "civilian." Such items as food, transportation, fuel, and other production basic to the conduct of the war were labeled by the military as "civilian" programs. Thus, there was a tendency for the Army, Navy, Aircraft Resources Control Office, and Maritime Commission to form a military bloc and the other representatives, a civilian bloc. At the extreme of the civilian bloc were the Office of Civilian Requirements and the Smaller War Plants Corporation which had a tendency to advocate approval of all but obviously unessential production and to grant moderately high urgency ratings to any program filling a domestic civilian need.

The activities of these committees had a cyclical pattern which might be characterized generally as "tough" and "lenient" cycles. The committees were established nationally during the spring and summer of 1944. That period represented a "tough" cycle. In the fall of 1944, often described as the "honeymoon" period because of predictions of an early end of the European war and reconversion to civilian goods, came the "lenient" period. At this time, many civilian programs got underway in what was known as the "spot authorization" program.

After military reverses and recurrence of a shortage of certain munitions, came an extremely tough period during which the military agencies insisted on denial of practically all types of civilian production. It was not until following V-E Day that this cycle reversed itself.

With the end of the war, the Production Urgency and Manpower Priorities Committees were abolished, along with most wartime production controls. In keeping with post-war psychology, these controls were lifted so summarily as to cause a somewhat chaotic condition in industrial reconversion, particularly in labor relations. The stage has been reached at which public opinion is demanding government intervention and control to prevent the disrupting effect of strikes in the return to civilian production. Without the pressing needs of the prosecution of the war and the ability of the president to exercise full war-time emergency powers, control of production and manpower will be extremely difficult. Those who do not like the controls will appeal to our traditional pattern of individual rights and will fight what they will insist is government infringement on those rights.

The reader may well ask at this point, what all this discussion has to do with the opening remarks about democratic controls in wartime. There are a few propositions I want to state and I shall attempt to relate the experience with manpower controls to these propositions.

r. In a democratic society of the type we have in the United States, controls during wartime, as well as in peace, depend for their success on the backing of public opinion and upon voluntary compliance of the majority of the citizenry. In the experience with the Production Urgency and Manpower Priorities Committees, there is no question that the committee controls worked best where both management and labor in the community supported them and co-operated with them. The effect of local public opinion apparently was the strongest element in compliance with committee rulings, except in the few programs where definite sanctions,

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2. A democracy is capable of a moderate degree of mobilization of its human and material resources in an emergency, but cannot attain anything approaching absolute mobilization. Never in the war period did the United States approach the degree of mobilization of manpower (particularly womanpower) which was possible in totalitarian states such as Germany, Japan and Russia (with due respect to the significant differences in Russian totalitarianism as compared with that of the other two nations). However, because of our tremendous resources, and because others stalled the enemy while we were mobilizing, we were able to move toward victory. One might speculate as to whether that victory might have come sooner with full mobilization from the beginning.

3. Controls based on public approval and voluntary co-operation are not fully effective, but require much less effort on the part of authorities for enforcement than totalitarian controls and are more stable. For violation of manpower regulations, there were no criminal penalties, no elaborate enforcement system, no gestapo to check up on individuals or business establishments. The only individual sanction was the threat of the draft for men of draft age. The only sanction for business was possible denial of materials or lack of referrals of labor. What ever success has been achieved has been done without a large overhead for enforcement.

4. Wartime controls, along with public opinion, follow a cyclical pattern. Public opinion veers from over-optimism to overpessimism. The controls are lax in the optimistic periods and rigid in the pessimistic periods. The manpower committee controls definitely followed this pattern. In response to the extreme swings of public opinion, the committee rulings were "tough" in one period and "soft" in another. It is probable that a study of these cycles would reveal many common elements with other types of

social and economic controls.

5. In application of wartime controls, there is considerable confusion over the amount of centralization of authority to be applied. Ordinarily there are cycles in this process, with a general trend toward more centralization as the war progresses. In a democracy, this centralization never approaches an absolute condition. Although the Production Urgency and Manpower Priorities Committees were intended to have maximum local autonomy, their history was one of increasing direction from Washington. This trend is interesting, in view of the fact that the committees were established because it was conceded that the job could not be done from headquarters.

6. Where a portion of the human and material resources is placed under military control, but a large portion is not, friction between military and civilian blocs is inevitable, with each attempting to increase its sphere of control. The tendency of the committees to split into such blocs has been noted above. In this case the rivalry was over a share of the short manpower supply with an indirect relation to allocation of materials as well. In the post-war period, there are evidences of a carry-over of this conflict into spheres such as peacetime military training, foreign area control, veteran status, and scientific research.

In this article, a narrow segment of wartime social control has been analyzed. Its significance is not fully revealed unless studied in relation to the whole milieu of wartime controls. The general thesis toward which the conclusions in this article point, subject to confirmation by a study of parallel conditions, is this:

A society in which social controls are based primarily on voluntary group action and indirect sanctions is relatively slow to mobilize in time of crisis, but through the long pull has more strength and stability than one in which controls are totalitarian in the sense of being imposed from above.

EFFECTS OF POPULATION GROWTH AND NON-GROWTH ON THE WELL-BEING OF CITIES

VICTOR ROTERUS* City Planning Commission, Cincinnati

MERICAN cities are entering the mature years of their age cycle. For most cities, their future is apparently limited to two alternatives. Some may continue to grow slowly and in greater competition with their neighbors, and others, succumbing to new political, social and economic forces, will suffer net losses in population.

The populationists also tell us that there is no inevitability about future growth or decline for any particular city.1 The controlling factor, in view of the low birth rates and the relatively narrow area for further progress in life expectancy, is net in-migration; a factor whose effective influence on the future growth of any one city is largely conditioned by the availability of job opportunities there and of attractive living conditions at relatively reasonable costs. In other words, the future growth or decline of a city now, more than ever before, is in the hands of the city itself.

In view of the fact that future growth in most cities must be secured in competition with other cities, the only apparent inevitability in the picture, the question of future policy with respect to growth might now be opportunely raised in most cities. Does the city want to continue to grow; is it satisfied merely to maintain its present size (a process in itself involving change if only to the extent of off-setting normal business mortality with its attendant loss of job opportunities); or is even the prospect of slow and gradual decline necessarily fraught with any great disadvantages to most of the people and institutions of the

The purpose of this paper is to throw some light, purely of an empirical nature, on what is at stake in such a general policy decision by a city. The effects of growth or non-growth in population on city well-being are measured with reference to two groups of cities: (1) a group of nine growing cities selected as having a moderate rate of growth (6.0 per cent) from 1030-1040, or approximately the same as that for the United States as a whole,2 and (2) a group of nine nongrowing cities which had a net loss of I per cent over the decade.3 Because the activities of the central cities are intimately bound up with their metropolitan areas, only those cities were selected whose metropolitan areas showed a similar population trend. The metropolitan areas of a group of growing cities experienced a 10.9 per cent increase from 1930 to 1940, whereas the metropolitan areas of the non-growing group experienced only a 1.3 per cent increase. The selected central cities were neither among the larger nor the smaller cities; all 18 ranging in size from 100,000 to less than 900,000.4 Because non-growth in American cities is a comparatively recent phenomenon and most data are available for census years, the period, 1930-1940, was selected. In view of the fact that no group of sizeable American cities experienced appreciable decline in absolute numbers of population, this paper is confined

city?

² The selected growth group includes Baltimore, Md.; Wilmington, Del.; Oakland, Calif.; Nashville and Chattanooga, Tenn.; Fort Worth, Texas; New Orleans, La.; Minneapolis, Minn., and Indianapolis, Ind., with a total population of 2,919,924 in 1930 and 3,120,873 ten years later.

The non-growth group includes Boston, Fall River and New Bedford, Mass.; Rochester, N.Y.; Scranton and Pittsburgh, Pa.; Duluth, Minn.; New Haven, Conn.; and Toledo, Ohio, with a total population of 2,705,277 in 1930 dropping to 2,677,642 by 1940.

In 1940, 29.7 per cent of all urban population

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^{*} Rowland Dietz assisted in the statistical re-

Warren S. Thompson, "Population in the Cincinnati Area," August, 1945 (mms. report under publication by the City Planning Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio).

to a comparison of non-growth cities as against moderate-growth cities. It is believed, however, that opposite effects revealed in a comparison of these two groups would be even more accentuated if the non-growth group had showed a definite decline in population. In a sense, these non-growth cities can be considered as declining cities inasmuch as they were unable to retain the gain in population that the factor of natural increase would have given them.

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The effects of non-growth and moderate growth on city well-being are measured in this paper with respect to their impact on four categories of city functions and welfare: (1) secondary employment activities such as building and real estate, retail trade, transportation and public utilities; (2) municipal government; (3) population composition and social well-being, and (4) physical appearance.

EFFECTS ON BUSINESS

In measuring some of the effects of population growth and non-growth on various economic activities, the conditions obtained at the beginning of the period (1929-1931) were contrasted with those at the end of the period (1939-1941) for both groups of cities. Only the comparative percentage changes are of significance as no attempt has been made to adjust the absolute figures to allow for change in national business conditions at the beginning and end of the period.

Effects on Construction and Real Estate Activities. The building industry is a major

a Inasmuch as the factors of natural population increase accounted only in part for either the nongrowth or the growth of the two groups of cities, the other major factor was net in- or out-migration resulting from a difference in the basic job opportunities in the two groups of cities. Hence, it is only to confuse cause and effect to measure as an effect the relative change in basic employment between the two city groups from 1930 to 1940. "Basic" employment in a city is here considered as being that which derives its support from producing for or serving, markets or clients outside the city; i.e., or that which gives rise to the city in the first place.

source of urban employment, primarily of skilled workers. In 1930, the U. S. Census listed 9 per cent of the gainful workers in the cities under consideration as in the building industry.

Population stagnancy has a demonstrable effect upon the total volume of all new construction as measured by dollar value of construction permits. During the decade 1930-1940, the total value of construction for the United States as a whole declined approximately 11.3 per cent. As against this,

TABLE I. TOTAL VALUE OF ALL CONSTRUCTION PERMITS^a (thousands of dollars)

	1930	1940	% Change
U. S. Total (Est.)	4,513,512	4,001,957	-11.3
9 Growing Cities 9 Non-Growing	88,125	107,963	+22.5
Cities	89,504	52,806	-41.1

• F. W. Dodge Corp. Reports for 37 States east of Rocky Mountains, Survey of Current Business, February, 1941; "Building Construction, 1941," U. S. Dept. of Labor Bulletin No. 713: "Building Permits in Principal Cities of the U. S. in 1930," U. S. Dept. of Labor Bulletin No. 545.

the group of 9 non-growing cities experienced a 41.1 per cent drop in their building, and the group of 9 moderately-growing cities increased their dollar value of construction 22.5 per cent, 6 as shown in Table I.

An analysis of construction permits for different purposes reveals interesting differential effects. Population stagnancy apparently most seriously impacts on the demand for new residential housing. While the value of new residential construction dropped some 10 per cent in the non-growing cities, the growing cities experienced a phenomenal

Generally, building construction volume followed a uniform pattern in all cities falling to its lowest point in 1934 and continuing a slow rise until 1940. New Bedford and Fall River among the non-growing cities experienced an abnormal amount of overall building activity in 1940 in contrast to 1930, accounted for by Federal Government low-rent housing projects.

Table II. Construction Permits by Categories (thousands of dollars)

	Residential		Non-Residential		Repairs, Altera- tions and Additions		
,	1930	% Change 1930-40	1930	% Change .1930-40	1930	% Change 1930-40	
9 Growing Cities 9 Non-Growing Cities	26,534 19,137	+125 - 10	42,748 51,787	-17 -58	16,335 18,580	-22 -26	

125 per cent rise in their building activity (see Table II).

The value of new non-residential construction—factories, office and other public buildings, stores, etc.—declined in both groups of cities between 1930-1940. The decline in non-growing cities, however, was more drastic (over 58 per cent) than in the moderately growing group (17 per cent). On the other hand, there was no notable difference in the behavior of the two groups of cities with respect to expenditures for repairs and alterations

In general, these statistics indicate that

Table III. Per Cent of Change in Retail Activities, 1929-1939^a

Number of Stores	Volume of Sales	Number of Employees
(% Change)	(% Change)	(% Change)
+20	-13	+ 5
+12	- 7	+12
+ 4	-23	- 9
	of Stores (% Change)	of Stores of Sales (% (% Change) Change) +20 -13

* Based on figures from Census of Distribution, Vol. 1, 1929, 15th U. S. Census; Retail Trade, 1939, 16th Census of Business. 1929 figures were adjusted for comparability with 1939.

population non-growth in cities has drastic adverse effects on all new building activity but has relatively little effect on maintenance construction.

Real estate activity rises and falls in relation to fluctuations in the demand for unoccupied land and improved real estate within the city.⁷ Accordingly, a decline in new building presumably will affect adversely the volume of transactions in real estate.⁸ Although it was not possible, in this study, to measure the effects on realty values, the effect of a static or declining population is towards "a vacant margin of houses which will, by the competition, weaken the rents and values of all homes." This depression of realty values was dramatically illustrated in the declining textile centers of New England where the plight of the property owner was reflected in pleas of "for rent at your price." ¹¹⁰

Effects on Retail Business. Population non-growth and growth have differing effects on retail sales volume, number of retail outlets, and employment in retailing.

In 1939, the retail sales of 9 non-growing cities were 23.3 per cent less than they were in 1929, while they declined only 7.2 per cent in dollar sales volume in the 9 growing cities (see Table III). The number of all types of retail stores increased in both growing and non-growing cities and the U.S. The increase in the selected non-growing cities

'Weimer & Hoyt, Principles of Urban Real Estate, New York, 1030.

The effect on employment in the real estate activity is not so clear. Because of difficulties of adjusting 1930 and 1940 Population Census figures to a comparable basis, minor differences, as appear in this case, are more apt to reflect statistical discrepancies than actual phenomena.

Homer Hoyt, "Economic Background of Cities," Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, May 1941.

¹⁰ Louis Adamic, "Tragic Towns of New England," Harpers, May 1931.

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In most cities, the retail activity is second only to manufacturing on the basis of numbers employed. In the selected cities, retail employment constituted almost one-sixth of all employment in 1930. Opposite effects on the number of employees was noted in the growing and non-growing groups of cities. Whereas retail employment increased 12 per cent in the growing cities, it decreased 9 per cent in the non-growing cities. In absolute numbers, this amounted to an increase of some 24,000 employees as against a decrease of some 18,000 employees.

It is interesting to note the change from 1929 to 1939 in sales per retail establishment between the two groups of cities. In 1929, the average sales per establishment were greater in the non-growing group. However, the sales per establishment in the growing group decreased 17 per cent in 1939 as against 1929 and decreased 26 per cent in the non-growing group. Even this differential rate still left the non-growing cities with more sales per establishment (17 per cent) than the growing cities. Whether the average for the growing cities will in time equal or exceed the average for the other group is purely conjectural. It may be that the superior opportunities in growing cities encourage so many more new retail ventures that the share of the available sales left for each will always be less than in the nongrowing cities, or that relatively more marginal establishments (tending to depress the average sales per establishment for the city as a whole) are able to survive in the growing cities.

Effects on Public Utilities. The public utilities cater to the mass urban market and generally they respond similarly to trends in this market. Hence, the effects of urban growth and non-growth on the public transportation system can be assumed to be generally typical of the effects on other utility services, such as electricity and gas and communication.

To provide the funds to maintain its services, city transportation systems depend

TABLE IV. Number of Revenue Passengers Carried (Street Cars and Busses)^a

	Revenue Passengers (thousands)			
	1931	1941	% Change	
9 Growing Cities 9 Non-Growing Cities	533,492 768,872	548,291 708,177	+2.8 -7.9	

 Special compilation by Cincinnati Street Railway Company.

almost entirely upon income derived from the revenue passengers they carry. Measured from the viewpoint of this key factor, the group of non-growing cities experienced a decline of 8 per cent compared with an increase of 3 per cent in the selected growing cities (see Table IV).

It is apparent that in a stagnant city local carriers can expect to operate under growing difficulties. Even under conditions of nongrowth, there is still a general shift of population from the central core of the city to its outskirts. This means new demands for expanded service at greater cost without any comparable rise in the number of revenue passengers.

Effects on Banking and Finance. Financial and banking institutions, although they had only 1 to 3 per cent of the gainfully occupied in the selected cities in 1930, provide a useful overall index of the relative levels of economic activity through bank debit statistics. These statistics confirm other findings. In the growing group of cities, total volume of bank debits in 1940 were 9 per cent less than in 1930, but in the non-growing group the decline was 26 per cent (see Table V).

TABLE V. BANK DEBITS, 1930-1940 (FROM FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD)

	Bank Debits (thousands of dollars)				
	1930	1940	% Change		
o Growing Cities Non-Growing	\$21,885,397	\$19,869,598	- 9.2		
Cities	41,710,787	30,513,625	-26.8		

This differential contraction in financial activity was apparently reflected in employment opportunities in the financial field. Although directly comparable employment figures for 1930 and 1940 do not exist, the relative effects are indicated when those listed in the 1930 Population Census as gainful workers in this field are compared with those listed in 1940 as employed and seeking work. The decreases were 14 per cent and 30

TABLE VI. PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES BY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

	1930	1940	Percentage Increase
9 Growing Cities	\$35.89	\$51.16	43
9 Non-Growing Cities	57.69	77.51	34

per cent respectively in the growing and nongrowing city groups.

Banks, building and loan companies, and other local lending institutions derive much of their business from mortgage investments and loans on land and other real property. Since, it has been shown that population non-growth is accompanied by lowered demands for new housing, there is likely to be diminished real estate activity and a corresponding deflation in realty values. Hence, forces of decline let loose in one segment of the economy tend to have cumulative effects in the others.

Effects on Professions. Even though professional persons as a group average as much as 8 to 9 per cent of the employed population in urban centers, they contribute to civic leadership and community well-being out of proportion to their numbers.

Using the number of lawyers and doctors as an index to the professional group as a whole, it seems evident that professional persons are sensitive to the lack of opportunities in non-growing cities and tend to favor cities with expanding opportunities. In 1930, the non-growing cities had 176 doctors per 100,000 population as against 178 in 1940, a slight increase, while in the growing cities the 1930 ratio, 188 per 100,000 population increased to 200 in 1940. The num-

ber of lawyers per 100,000 population in non-growing cities dropped from 176 to 163 during the decade, while growing cities had 202 lawyers per 100,000 population in 1930 and 200 in 1940.¹¹

EFFECTS ON CITY GOVERNMENT

The effects of population growth and nongrowth on the conduct of municipal governments are examined in terms of the relative changes in expenditures, revenues and taxes, and debts between 1930 and 1940.

Effects on Expenditures. Although cessation in population growth apparently has not meant a corresponding halt in the rising level of expenditures by municipal governments, there is evidence to indicate that the non-growing cities have, at least, managed to keep their increases at a rate less than that for growing cities. Whereas the governments of the growing cities increased their total expenditures in 1940 (160 million dollars) by 52 per cent from 1930 (105 million dollars), the comparable increase in non-growing cities was 33 per cent (from 156 million dollars in 1930 to 208 millions). 12

On a per capita basis, the difference in the rate of change in expenditures between the two groups of cities was less marked. Even on this basis, however, the non-growing cities experienced less increase (34 per cent as against 43 per cent—see Table VI).

Without definitive study, it is dangerous to conclude from these changes in per capita expenditures that per capita costs rise more rapidly in a growing city. The different rates might be found to grow out of relatively greater improvements in the quality of governmental services in the growing cities. The historical fact that the non-growing cities

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¹¹ W. F. Ogburn (Social Characteristics of Cities) noted similar differences as between growing and declining cities. Physicians comprised .38 per cent of the employed in the former and .29 per cent of the latter, while lawyers followed a similar pattern, .35 per cent as compared with .27 per cent.

¹³ All figures on governmental expenditures, revenues and debts in this article are based on *Financial Statistics of Cities*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1930 and 1940.

began the decade in question with substantially higher (61 per cent) expenditures per capita than the growing group may also have affected the rate of increase. In 1940, the per capita expenditures in the non-growing cities were still 52 per cent higher than in the growing group. These larger expenditures indicate that the problem of the non-growing cities to adjust municipal services to the changing needs of a smaller or stationary population is still ahead of them.

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Effects on Revenues and Taxes. Examination of the changes in revenues in relation to the changes in taxes as between 1930 and 1940 reveals interesting differences between the two groups of cities.

Total revenues over the period increased

TABLE VII. PER CAPITA REVENUES FROM GENERAL PROPERTY TAX

	1930	1940	% Change
9 Growing Cities	\$37.09	\$35.40	-4.6
9 Non-Growing Cities	55.97	56.78	+1.4

3.6 per cent in the growing cities as against 2.1 per cent in the non-growing cities. On a per capita basis, however, total revenues increased 3.1 per cent (from \$77.22 to \$79.68) in the non-growing cities as against a decrease of 3.3 per cent (from \$55.82 to \$54.09) in the other group.

The increase in per capita revenues for the non-growing group was partly achieved through placing a heavier burden on the property owners residing in non-growing cities relative to the property owners of growing cities than was true even in 1930 (see Table VII).

It will be noted that whereas the per capita revenues from the general property tax increased in the non-growing cities, they declined almost 5 per cent in the growing group. Furthermore, the per capita revenues from this source were more than 50 per cent greater in the case of the non-growing cities.

The increase in per capita total revenues and property tax revenues was a reflection of a much greater increase in tax rates in the non-growing cities. From 1931 (comparable

data were not available for 1930) to 1940, the tax rates increased 66 per cent (from \$15.19 to \$25.12) in the non-growing cities as compared to a 10 per cent increase (from \$13.02 to \$14.32) in the growing group. Rosina Mohaupt, taking a much larger sample of 301 cities over 1930 and 1940, found that tax rates in the growing cities increased 12 per cent as against 24 per cent for the cities experiencing decline in population, and that the assessed values decreased less in the growing cities (19 per cent as compared with 26 per cent).

Other phases of the revenue picture do not presage lessening difficulties for non-growing cities. Philip Hauser has pointed out that "the general financial picture of slow growing cities will be further darkened by the fact that relative decreases in population will result in decreases in amounts of federal and state grants, as a result of which still further burdens may be thrown upon tax-payers." 14

Effects on Debts. The bright spot in the financial picture of cities over the decade 1930-40 was their ability to effect substan-

TABLE VIII. PER CAPITA GROSS DEBT AND NET BONDED DEBT

	Gross	Debt	Net Bond	led Debt
	1930	% Change 1930–40	1930	% Change 1930–40
9 Growing Cities 9 Non-Growing	\$180.21	-36	\$168.62	-40
Cities Cities	188.39	-20	170.49	- 26

tial reductions in gross and net debts. Even in this respect, however, the growing cities made a better showing than the non-growing cities. The growing cities achieved a 36 per cent reduction in per capita gross debt and

¹³ Figures for the two years are adjusted for comparability, and based on: C. E. Righton, "Comparative Tax Rates of 290 Cities, 1931," National Municipal Review, Dec. 1931; Rosina Mohaupt, "Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities, 1940," National Municipal Review, Dec. 1940.

¹⁴ "How Declining Urban Growth Affects City Activities," Public Management, Dec. 1940.

a 40 per cent reduction in net bonded debt whereas the reductions in non-growing cities were 20 and 26 per cent respectively (see Table VIII).

Federal lending of an emergency public works character during the 1930-40 decade enabled cities to effect capital improvements without resort to capital borrowing. It is by no means certain that federal lending will continue indefinitely to provide the major funds for municipal improvements and the termination of this source of capital funds will find the growing cities with smaller out-

compared to 17). Inasmuch as the death rates in the two groups of cities were practically the same in 1940,¹⁵ the non-growing cities were rapidly moving toward a point where the factor of natural increase may fail to maintain existing numbers.

The growing cities in 1940 had relatively more adults in the important 20 to 45 age group. However, a refinement of this general group into two sub-groups, as given in Table IX, brings to light interesting changes. The growing cities actually lost population in the 20 to 30 age group over the decade, and

TABLE IX. PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS BETWEEN 1930 AND 19408

	Age Groups						
	0-19	20-29	30-44	45-64	65 & over		
	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.		
9 Growing Cities	-11.2	-3.1	+0.3	+14.8	+32.5		
9 Non-Growing Cities	-14.2	+3.0	-3.9	+16.6	+42.6		

^{*} Characteristics of the Population, U. S. Census, 1930, 1940.

standing obligations in a much better position to resume local borrowing of capital funds.

EFFECTS ON AGE COMPOSITION AND LEADERSHIP

The relative changes in the age groups of the selected non-growing and growing cities between 1930 and 1942 were measured with reference to five groups: up to 20 years of age, 20 up to 45 years, 45 to 65, and 65 years and over. Generally, both groups of cities experienced declines in their population in the youngest ages with the non-growing cities showing a relatively greater rate of decline, and both groups of cities showed increases in the older ages with the non-growing cities showing a relatively greater rate of increase (see Table IX).

The differential rates of decline in the youngest age group is partly a reflection of comparative birth rates. Birth rates, which were higher in the non-growing cities in 1930 (21 births per 1,000 population as compared to 18.5) declined so rapidly over the decade that by 1940 the birth rate in these cities was lower than in the growing cities (16 as

gained slightly in the 30-45 age group; whereas the reverse was true in the case of the non-growing cities.

The implications of these facts are particularly pertinent with reference to the nature of leadership of the community. Those in the age group 30 to 45 years of age are old enough to assume, or begin to assume position of sufficient responsibility to have a voice in community affairs and not so old that they are disinclined to respond to new ideas and prospects of future accomplishment. In short, in this group are the younger, progressive leaders and those recognized as about to assume leadership. Apparently, the non-growing cities are losing this element of their population with the result that leadership tends to remain in the same, but more aged and conservative hands.

EFFECTS ON CITY APPEARANCE

All the effects pointed out in previous paragraphs tend, in combination, to alter the

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¹⁵ Incidentally, the death rate which in 1940 was greater in the growing cities declined more rapidly over the decade until it was virtually the same as in the non-growing cities.

appearance of the city. The appearance of the city will be more important to the city's well-being in the future than it has in the past. As has been pointed out, city growth in the future will depend on the ability to attract persons from the outside, an attraction founded on expanding job opportunities and relative desirability of living conditions. The visible key to these living conditions is the appearance of the city: the quality and efficiency of its thoroughfares, the sprightliness of its business areas, the attractiveness of its residential areas, the distribution and maintenance of its park and recreational facilities, and the promise of work in progress such as high-speed expressways, slum clearance and construction, new offices and government buildings.

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ne of The evidence cited in previous paragraphs all tends to make it difficult for the non-growing cities to cultivate and maintain their best appearance. With declining sales volume, the downtown area is not apt to spend money on modern construction to replace obsolete structures. The government of the declining city, faced with poorer prospects for new revenues (largely derived from an increasing population and a rising tax duplicate) will not be encouraged to indulge in new public construction. It is more apt to reduce its expenditures for capital improvements such as new government buildings, modern highspeed traffic arteries, parks and recreational

facilities to an absolute replacement minimum, and hoard diminishing income to meet higher operating expenses.

In residential areas, rising vacancy rates and lessening demand will have their depressing effects on rental values and on adequate maintenance. Vacant properties and poor up-keep are blight infections which, once they make their appearance, provide their own cycle of debilitating spread.

In general conclusion, (it seems apparent from the evidence revealed by this study that it is well worth the effort of the individual city or the metropolitan area of which it is a part, to take a positive approach to the two chief factors controlling future population growth. These factors, previously cited, are the provisions of additional job opportunities and of relatively attractive living conditions. Conceivably, many of the desirable effects of an expanding population could be duplicated by a corresponding expansion of real income for a stationary population. This could result generally from increasing productivity accompanied by a high level of economic activity or from increased stability of the existing economy from the viewpoint of seasonal and cyclical fluctuations. Failing all these alternatives, it behooves cities and their metropolitan areas to develop techniques at least to ease the attendant adverse effects of a stationary or declining population.



THE ESTIMATION OF POPULATIONS FOR UNINCORPORATED PLACES

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University of Maine*

as sociologists are well aware, there exists today a sizeable body of data both on general and on specific aspects of village life and on the relationships of village, town, and open country. As a result of the pioneering efforts of such men as Brunner, Galpin, Kolb, Landis, Sanderson, Sims, Smith, Williams, Wilson, Zimmerman, and their co-workers, the area of village fact has continuously encroached upon the area of speculation and opinion.

Despite the amassing of this considerable information, the village-hamlet group as a unit of population has received comparatively little study. Population experts have tended to be concerned with other and larger units, the data for which have been more readily available; and rural sociologists have not ordinarily placed major emphasis on the demographic aspects of rural centers.

A major reason for the existence of such a condition is obviously to be found in the inadequacy of existing data sources. The deficiencies both of the federal census and of the commercial atlases have already been made known. Yet, aside from those studies which have uncritically accepted atlas figures or which have erred in considering the census rural-nonfarm category as synonymous with villages, only meagre research has been attempted in an effort to break down the rural-nonfarm population into its constituent elements.²

An interesting method of estimating the populations of unincorporated villages from the list of the number of business units in each center provided by Dun and Bradstreet has, however, been developed by T. Lynn Smith.3 Using data for 26 states, Smith has summarized the relationship between numbers of businesses and numbers of residents in the regression equation Y = 119.6+ 20.0X, which may be read in this way: on the average the addition of a single business unit (X) will indicate an accompanying increase of 21 inhabitants (Y). For incorporated villages the census populations and the number of business units were checked for relationships. A coefficient of correlation of r = + .834 was obtained indicating that "the relationship is very close and that a high degree of reliance can be placed upon the estimates of population based on a knowledge of the number of business units."

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The assumption was then made that a similar relationship exists in unincorporated centers. If such an assumption is accepted, then it would seem that the Bradstreet lists of businesses operating in unincorporated centers might be used in the calculation of the size of the total village population of a given territory.

^{*} On leave of absence.

¹T. Lynn Smith, "The Role of the Village in American Rural Society," Rural Sociology: 7-1 (March 1942), pp. 10-21; Glenn T. Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: Analysis of Data Sources," Rural Sociology: 6-1 (March 1941), pp. 35-42; Vincent Heath Whitney, "Notes on the Reliability of Atlases for Estimating the Populations of Unincorporated Places," Rural Sociology: 10-4 (December, 1945), pp. 387-393.

The leadership in this field can be claimed for

Professors Landis and Smith. See Paul H. Landis, "The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations," Research Studies of the State College of Washington: 6-4 (December 1938), pp. 160-188; T. Lynn Smith, The Population of Louisiana: Its Composition and Changes (University: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 293, 1937); Smith, "The Role of the Village in American Rural Society," op. cit.; and Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), pp. 44-48.

[&]quot;The Role of the Village in American Rural Society," op. cit., pp. 12-16.

As part of a broader field study carried on by the author in 1940 and 1941 in a tencounty subregion of north-central North Carolina, an empirical check on such a relationship was made. Although it is for a limited area, it serves to indicate some of the difficulties involved in estimating the populations of unincorporated centers from numbers of business units.

Table I. Mean Number of Business Units Supported by Size-types of Centers, the Subregion, 1940

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Control of the total		Number of ss Units
Centers by Size-type Classification*	Excluding Filling Stations	Including Filling Stations
Agricultural—I	1.4	2.0
Suburban—I	0.7	1.3
Industrial—I		_
Agricultural—II	4.2	5.2
Suburban—II	2.8	3.8
Industrial—II	1.6	1.6
Agricultural—III	14.5	17.0
Suburban-III	6.5	7.5
Industrial—III	4.8	6.4
Agricultural—IV	46.8	54.2
Suburban—IV	15.5	19.5
Industrial—IV	13.0	16.7
Agricultural—V	63.2	69.8
Suburban-V	11.01	15.of
Industrial—V	26.0	29.7
Agricultural—IV and V	55.0	62.0
Suburban-IV and V	14.0	18.0
Industrial—IV and V	19.5	23.2

^{*} See footnote 5, text

Table I shows the mean number of business units supported by each of several sizes and functional types of centers in the subregion.⁴ It will be observed, as we might

have expected, that within each category an increase in population is accompanied by the ability to support a greater mean number of stores. Of greater concern for our purpose, however, is the considerable difference in the number of business units found in centers of the same size class but of different functional types. In size classes I, II, III, and IV, without exception, the agricultural centers support a greater average number of business units than do the suburban centers; and the suburban centers are in the same relationship to the industrial centers. In size class V, however, the industrial villages support a greater mean number of business units than does the single suburban village of this size. Not only is this pattern uniform, but as the population classes increase, the differential between the agricultural villages on the one hand and the suburban and industrial villages on the other becomes striking.

For the subregion, at least, the figures of Table I must throw doubt upon the validity of estimating the populations of individual places from the number of business units. Further, if we assume the method to be accurate for agricultural villages, can it be equally so for industrial villages when, for example, agricultural villages of between 750 and 1,249 people are seen to support an average of 46.8 business units as against 13.0 in industrial villages of the same size?

The method developed by Professor Smith has been applied to the villages of the sub-

Social Science at the University of North Carolina as a subregional laboratory. See Charles S. Johnson, et. al., A Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941).

The villages and hamlets of the subregion were found to fall exclusively into three functional types: agricultural, suburban, and industrial. Villages were divided as well by size, five convenient and generally established intervals being used, two for hamlets and three for villages. These were: Class I, 25-99 population; Class II, 100-249 population; Class III, 250-749 population; Class IV, 750-1,249 population; and Class V, 1,250-2,499 population. See my unpublished manuscript, The Pattern of Village Life (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, 1944), Chap. 3.

[†] One village only

Source: Field schedules of the author

⁴ Subregion refers to the ten counties of Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Durham, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Rockingham and Wake, which are used by the Institute for Research in

Table II. Comparison of Village Populations Obtained by Field Count and by Use of Regression Equation—The Subregion, 1940

47719	Pop	ulation		Differe	nce in Pop	ulations	
Villages by Size-types	Field Count	Regression Equation	1-49	50-99	100-249	250-499	Over
Agricultural-III							
Village 1	274	376			+		
2	299	453			+++++		
3	328	432			+		
4	329°	469			+		
	394°	451		+			
5	398	897				+	
7	399	599			+		
8	415°	644			+		
9	440	599			+		
10	6150	990				+	
11	640°	1009				+	
Industrial-III	040	2009					
Village 1	257	376			+		
2	262	358		+			
3	347	469		1	+		
4	353	395	+				
	384	5 ² 5	1		+		
5	418			_	1		
	456	339 469	+				
7 8	560		-		_		
		395					
9	607	488			_		
10	655	488			-		
Suburban-III	744	544			_		
Village 1	395	644			+		
2	453	395		_			
3	494°	469	-				
4	566	459			-		
Agricultural-IV							
Village 1	826°	874	+				
2	883	1064			+		
3	977°	1250				+	
4	1070°	1641					+
5	1132°	1529				_	
Industrial-IV	3-	-3-9					
Village 1	879	525				_	
2	1047	544					-
3	1109	748				_	
Suburban-IV	1109	140					
Village 1	814	692					
vinage 1	11410	692				_	
	1141-	092					
Agricultural-V							
Village 1	1311e	1529			+		
2	1323°	1697				+	
3	1562°	1195				-	
4	2060°	1362					
5	2197°	1883				-	
industrial-V							
Village 1	1455°	581					-
2	1753°	1027					-
3	1933	637					-
Suburban-V							
Village 1	1565	618					
Totals							

o 1940 census count

Source: Field schedules of the author and 1940 census of population

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region, and the populations obtained by its use have been compared with those produced by a house-to-house count made in the field.⁶ For the 22 incorporated villages of the subregion, the relationship between the size of the population and the number of business units was calculated. The resulting regression equation was used in an attempt to estimate the populations of the 45 unincorporated villages in the same area. The accuracy of such estimations was checked by population counts in the field.⁷

In the regression equation the number of business units in a center was taken as the independent variable or X and the number of inhabitants as the dependent variable or Y. For the subregion the relationships between the two variables is summarized in the regression equation Y = 324 + 18.5X. This may be interpreted as indicating on the average an increase of nearly 19 persons for each unit increase in the number of business establishments. A coefficient of correlation of r = + .801 (compared to Smith's + .834 indicates a close relationship between the two variables. We may examine in Table II the exact amount of difference between populations arrived at by estimation and by actual count of dwelling units.

It will be seen at once that in only four out of 45 cases is the difference in the two population figures less than 50 and that in only an additional four is this difference less than 100. In 19 instances it lies between 100 and 249; in 11, between 250 and 499; and in 7, over 499. Actually, for one of the villages (Industrial-V, Village 3), the difference in the two populations is more than 1,000; and in two others (Industrial-V, Village 1 and Suburban-V, Village 1) it is nearly as great. If we make our comparison in terms of types of villages, we find that

among the agricultural centers 18 populations appear to be overestimated by using the regression equation based on business units; and the range of overestimation runs as high as the over-499 interval for one village. On the other hand, three agricultural village populations, all in class V villages, are apparently underestimated by this method; the range of underestimation is from the over-499 interval for one center to the 250-499 interval for the remaining two.

When we turn to the industrial and suburban villages, the picture is somewhat different. All but the smallest industrial and suburban villages are underestimated, and only for four industrial and for two suburban villages, both in class III, is the error less than 100. For the seven remaining smaller industrial villages the error is between 100 and 249. All six of the industrial villages in classes IV and V are underestimated by at least 250 persons. The latter is also true for two out of three of the suburban villages in classes IV and V.

A further check on method was attempted by use, for the entire State of North Carolina, of Dun and Bradstreet commercial listings and of census figures for the populations of certain unincorporated centers.8 Unfortunately, it was found that Dun and Bradstreet listings occurred for only 11 unincorporated centers (three of them of over 2,500 persons) for which census population estimates were also given. For the single agricultural village in this group an overestimation of 22 persons was obtained by use of the regression equation. For the remaining places (all industrial centers, one in class IV, six in class V, and 3 above 2,500 population) underestimations ranging from 584 to 3,184 persons occurred.

Dun and Bradstreet listings did, however, indicate a considerable variation in the num-

The author wishes to acknowledge critical suggestions made by Professor Smith which have greatly strengthened the present study.

⁷ Houses were designated as rural-farm or as rural-nonfarm. For each center the number of homes in each category was multiplied by the average number of persons in that type home in that county as reported by the 1040 census.

^a Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, Unincorporated Communities, United States, by States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943). The Dun and Bradstreet Company courteously made available their New York office files. The regression equation for North Carolina was furnished me by Dr. Smith.

ber of business units found in villages approximately equal in population. And as in the subregion, a number of centers showed commercial establishments disproportionate to their population size. Leaksville, with a 1940 census population of 1,886, contains 141 business units with an additional five nearby. Helton (population: 1,116) has only one business unit, and McAdenville (population: 887) has only three with one additional nearby. It is unfortunate that the data available are insufficient to indicate whether the total village population of the state estimated by use of the regression equation above would approximate correctness.

Certain conclusions now emerge. Primary among these is the fact that, in the subregion at least, individual village populations are not to be estimated from numbers of business units alone. The type of village and its location appear to be factors of equal importance. The suburban place is in obvious dependence upon the trade units of the nearby city.) The latter are extraterritorial resources available to the suburban dweller in a matter of a few minutes either in his own car or, generally, over local bus routes. The suburban village is likely to be more diffused than the industrial or agricultural village. It cannot support the larger or the more specialized store to be found in the nearby city. Neither can it offer a market for the older type of general store still characteristic of many agricultural centers. Villagers prefer the city for most of the articles they might be inclined to buy in a general store in a more remote agricultural village. And farmers do little shopping in such centers. The larger city is only a few minutes beyond. Likewise, the industrial center for the most part lacks a trade hinterland. Farmers have not found extensive cordiality extended to them in industrial villages. Most often they feel themselves tolerated rather than welcomed. Again, industrial villages as a whole are significantly closer to urban centers of 10,000 or more population than are agricultural villages9 so

that the competitive force of the city tends to react upon them more nearly in the same way it reacts upon the suburban village. In sum, both suburban and industrial villages tend to be under-stored because of these restricting factors, while the very fact that these same factors operate with lesser force upon agricultural villages as a whole and that these villages are the trade centers not merely, nor even primarily, for their own populations but for a rural trade of varying size, tends to cause agricultural villages to be overstored in relation to the number of their inhabitants. Because this is true, a set population formula based on business units alone will hardly suit all types of villages. And even within a type, much would seem to depend upon locational factors, distance from a city, distance from competing villages, and so on. The means of transportation and communication available and the topographical features of a local area are also important in obvious ways.

The village of Goldston, whose population is considerably overestimated by use of the regression equation, is located in a relatively remote part of the subregion. The largest trade center in the county, a village of just over 2,000 people, is more than 12 miles away; and the nearest small urban place is some 13 miles in another direction. It is almost 40 miles to the nearest city of 10,000 people and nearly 43 miles, in part over dirt roads, to the nearest city of 50,000 people. Goldston is thus a trade center for a relatively wide area and contains a far greater number of business units than it could possibly support given another and less favorable location.

In the other direction, the agricultural village which showed the greatest under-

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⁹ This is statistically demonstrated in The Pattern

of Village Life, op. cit., Ch. 10. In comparing the mean distance of large agricultural and industrial villages from the nearest urban place of 10,000 or more people, for example, the observed difference between the means is significant since, where t = 3.721 with 14 degrees of freedom, o1 > P > .001. In the subregion, of course, no such generalization to a hypothetical universe is involved since the complete enumeration of villages has been made and there is, therefore, no sampling situation.

ume of A Guide University Fuquay County man ar Study (Raleig Bulletin

estimation (1,362 against a census figure of 2,060) is Mebane, located on a principal United States highway about ten miles from a city of over 10,000 people and approaching midway between two cities of over 50,000, the nearer of which is 19.2 miles away. Mebane too is large enough so that it is something of a manufacturing village although it remains primarily a service center for a surrounding farm territory.

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Of the villages for which the use of the regression equation results in an overestimation of more than 100 people, Creedmoor is one of the most important mule markets in the South; Wendell and Zebulon are prominent tobacco markets; and Apex, Fuguay-Varina, and Stoneville are farmers' towns somewhat similar to Goldston in their removal from the immediate competition of larger urban places.10 For the agricultural villages with underestimates of more than 100 persons, the situation is in general the reverse. These centers are not prominent farmers' villages and tend to be located in areas of urban competition. For only one of these villages, Siler City, does this explanation seem not to hold and we must assume that there are other factors, at present unkown, which are operative. The rapid expansion of this center over the last decade may have outrun the normal increase in the number of business units.

At this point it may be asked whether the preponderance of underestimates for industrial and suburban villages is due to a limitation on the definition of what constitutes a business unit so that many such units, as defined by Dun and Bradstreet, are excluded here. On the contrary, the definition of business unit employed here has purposely been of liberal bent. Every business found to exist

In the light of this evidence, we must conclude that whatever the situation elsewhere, the method of basing population estimates for villages on the number of trade units therein is an inadequate one for the estimation of the populations of individual centers in the area surveyed. It is possible that for a large number of villages overestimates and underestimates would tend to cancel each other. But there is as yet no proof of this; and, in fact, the evidence for the subregion would fail to corroborate such a contention. Certainly this would not be so for any single functional type of rural center. Use of the regression equation in estimating the village population of the subregion results in an underestimation of 3,055 people out of a total village population of 36,875.

It cannot be too strongly urged that the Bureau of the Census refine and extend its techniques¹¹ until a complete picture of the elements of the rural-nonfarm population can be presented on the basis of actual count. Certainly it seems unlikely that any independent scholar or foundation will be warranted or able to undertake a task of such magnitude. Meanwhile in the continuing search for methods which will permit the more accurate separation of the rural-nonfarm population into its constituent elements, there is need for a careful check on theory through the use of empirical data if misconceptions of a kind too prevalent in the past are to be avoided.

in a center has been included in the calculation of the population. This means not only the orthodox grocery, drug, and dry goods stores but also funeral parlors, wholesale houses, and small neighborhood grocery and variety stores, to cite but a few specific examples. Every street of every village has been included, and both Negro-and white-operated businesses listed. If there is error in the estimated population based on the number of trade units, it is error on the high rather than on the low side, in which case correction will make the underestimates more extreme.

¹⁰ These villages are briefly pictured in the volume of the Federal Writers Project, North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939). For Fuquay-Varina, Wendell, Zebulon, and other Wake County centers, see especially Carle C. Zimmerman and Carl C. Taylor, Rural Organization: A Study of Primary Groups in Wake County, N.C. (Raleigh: N.C. Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 245, 1922).

¹¹ Cf. The Delimitation of Unincorporated Urban Areas Suitable for Census Purposes (Washington: Bureau of the Census, n.d.). (Mimeographed)

OFFICIAL REPORTS and PROCEEDINGS



ANNOUNCEMENT

The present editors of the Review find it impossible to continue to serve because of pressure of university duties. Their resignation was submitted last year to take effect in May, 1946. President Kimball Young has selected the following to serve as a committee to nominate a successor:

Stuart A. Queen, Chairman Thorsten Sellin Samuel A. Stouffer Rupert B. Vance

It may be of interest to readers of the REVIEW to know that the publication schedule adhered to since the August issue of 1944 is as follows, using dates for the February issue as an example:

January 3-5 Editors mail copy to Printer
January 20-21 Contributors receive galley
from Printer

January 28 Editors return galley to Printer February 8-9 Editors receive page proof from Printer

February 10-11 Editors return page proof to Printer

February 20 Issue is released

Variations from this procedure, with special reference to the date of issue, have occurred more frequently in 1946 than in 1945, owing to the adjustments occasioned by the termination of the war which have made it extremely difficult for the printer to adhere to any predetermined schedule. The printer has recently advised that at this time no production schedules can be guaranteed despite the fact that George Banta Publishing Company is doing its best to keep the above schedule.

1946 COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

President-elect Carl C. Taylor has appointed a Nominating Committee consisting of

Clyde Hart, Chairman Harry Alpert Gordon Blackwell Ruth S. Cavan Calvert L. Dedrick O. D. Duncan J. H. Kolb Robert K. Merton Talcott Parsons
James A. Quinn
Ira DeA. Reid
Dorothy S. Thomas
George B. Vold
W. Lloyd Warner
Julian L. Woodward

Members who wish to make suggestions for the conduct of the Committee's task are urged to submit them promptly.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1, 1944 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1945

Membership. The membership continued to increase during the year and our total membership is now 1,309. Two hundred and eleven members joined and one hundred forty-four relinquished their memberships. The Society carried without charge the memberships of one hundred forty-three of its members who are serving in the Armed Forces. Details of membership for 1944 and 1945 are given in the table shown below.

The Society is again indebted to Dr. Tylor and his active Committee on Membership which added eighty new members and four membership renewals to the 1945 list. Due to Dr. Tylor's death in December, his report was not completed. The results are evident in this report.

In addition, the following members of the Society recommended a total of thirty new members for 1945: Harry Alpert, Lita Bane, James H. S. Bossard, H. C. Brearley, Neal B. DeNood, Dan W. Dodson, Earle Eubank, Mildred Fairchild, Joseph B. Gittler, Norman E. Himes, Rex D. Hopper, Samuel C. Kincheloe, Samuel Koenig, Murray H. Leiffer, Peter Lejins, William H. Metzler, William C. Smith, George B. Vold, and Kimball Young.

Necrology. The society lost through death the following members—Alfred Bettman, Earle E. Eubank, Lyonel C. Florant, Hugh N. Fuller, Maurice Halbwachs, Jessie H. Humphries, Arthur H. Jones, E. T. Krueger, Eugene Lerner, J. F. Normano, A. Peskind, E. D. Tetreau, and Willard Waller, W. Russell Tylor.

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Comparison of Membership, 1944 and 1945 Changes during 1945

		Subscribers							
Membership Classes	Total	New	Rejoined	Who Joined	Transfer	De- ceased	Re- signed	Dropped	Total
Single	911	89	34	7	+8	11	6	67	857
Student	143	59	2	1	-57	-	I	53	192
Joint	48	2	10	-	-6		demons	4	46
Sustaining	6		1	-	- I	-	-	1	7
Life	33		*****		5	-		-	28
Honorary	7	2		_		1	-	-	6
Exchange	3	-		-	-	-	-	-	3
Emeritus	15		-	-	3	_	-	-	12
Free-Armed Forces	143	_	4	_	48	-	-		91
Total	1,309	152	51	8	0	12	7	125	1,242

Cooperation with Other Groups. At the meetings of the National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations, John W. McConnell of New York University has represented the Society.

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Constantine Panunzio served as the Society's representative in January 1945 at the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the Graduate School of the University of Southern California: Wayne C. Neely of Hood College, Frederick, Maryland, represented the Society at the 75th Anniversary celebration of Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania on October 13; Robert F. Clark of Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, represented the Society at the Inauguration of President Shimer at Marietta College on October 20; Arthur L. Beeley, of the University of Utah, represented the Society at the Inauguration of Dr. McDonald as President of Brigham Young University, Provo, on November 14; Joseph N. Symons served as the Society's representative at the Inauguration of Dr. Harris as President of Utah State Agricultural College on November 16; Fred R. Yoder represented the Society at the Inauguration of Dr. W. M. Compton as President of The State College of Washington on December 11; and H. W. Saunders of the University of Iowa represented the Society at the Inauguration of Dr. Hollinshead as President of Coe College, Cedar Rapids, on December 14.

Activities of the Administration and Executive Committees. All actions of the Administration and Executive Committees have been carried on by mail. The Administration Committee voted

its approval of the Sections listed in the February 1945 Review for inclusion in the program for the 1945 meeting; approved the proposed amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws of the American Council of Learned Societies; approved scheduling the 1945 meeting in Chicago on November 30, December 1 and 2; granted Life Membership status to joint members on payment of \$115; approved the increased charges set forth by the publishers (see Report of the Managing Editor); approved the recommendations of the Committee on Budget and Investments on the purchase of government bonds and railroad stocks; voted to increase the appropriation for clerical assistance in the Editor's office by \$300; approved using the unexpended balance from the enlarged April issue of the Review in order to publish full-size issues during the remainder of the year; voted on unnamed candidates in order to break the tie vote resulting from the mail election for one of the positions on the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee voted its approval of the 1945 Committee on Budget and Investments appointed by Dr. Young in December 1944; voted to hold the annual meeting in Chicago on November 30, December 1 and 2, 1945; in July when it seemed that transportation would still be extremely difficult, voted to cancel the 1945 meeting, and expressed a preference for a meeting in the Spring if possible; favored assembling the papers prepared for the originally scheduled 1945 meetings in the April issue of the Review; in October the Committee voted authorization for the schedul-

ing of a postponed 1945 meeting to a subcommittee consisting of its members in the District of Columbia; in December voted approval of the 1946 Budget as recommended by
the Committee, pending discussion at the meeting in March; approved participation by the
Society in the setting up of a National Conference on Family Life; approved a statement
to be supplied to the Social Science Research
Council, summarizing the attitudes of the members of the Executive Committee toward the
proposed National Science Foundation legislation; and approved continuing in office until
the meeting in March the present officers and
representatives to other organizations.

Elections by Mail. One of the purposes of adopting a procedure for election of officers by mail was to permit members remote from the place of meeting more effectively to take part in the election. The table below compares the

cember 1 and 2, but these were cancelled.

When, in September, it appeared that meetings might again be scheduled, Professor Hughes resumed negotiations with hotels in Chicago and tried to work out other arrangements for holding a meeting, but it became increasingly clear that it would not be feasible to schedule a meeting there late in 1945 or early in 1046.

Professor Queen then explored the possibilities of a meeting in St. Louis and after considerable effort, found that arrangements could be made, except that it would not be possible there to house our Negro members in the head-quarters hotel. A sub-committee of the Executive Committee, which had been given responsibility for determining time and place of the meeting, suggested then that attempts be made to find some other city where suitable arrangements could be made. Through the efforts of

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS ELIGIBLE TO VOTE AND MEMBERS VOTING 1945 AND 1943

Area	1945			1943		
	Mem- bers	Ballots received	% Voting	Mem- bers	Ballots received	% Voting
Northeast	424	238	55	328	161	49
New York City	133	68		83	38	
North Central	337	183	54	286	153	52
Chicago	45	28		39	20	
South	294	187	63	226	131	58
Wash., D.C.	93	61		61	34	
West	87	5.3	61	72	46	63
Others	48	24	50	14	2	14
			_			_
Total	1,190	685	57	926	493	53

number of members in the Society with the number of ballots cast by members in the respective regions. The comparison is not entirely valid because of the relatively high geographic mobility of our members in recent years. Nevertheless, it indicates widespread participation in the election of officers.

Acknowledgments. The Society is greatly indebted to Professor Hughes for the time and effort he spent in trying to arrange a successful meeting. Because of the exceptionally difficult circumstances surrounding the arrangements for a meeting in 1945, the task he assumed as Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements proved to be particularly burdensome. He had made arrangements for the meeting originally scheduled for Chicago November 30, DeProfessor C. E. Gehlke such arrangements were made and the meeting was scheduled to be held in Cleveland March 1, 2, 3.

During the last four years your Secretary has had the able assistance of Mrs. Dorothy B. Hosea who has borne the major share of the responsibility for keeping things running smoothly in the office. It is she who has looked after innumerable details and to her, in large measure, belongs the credit for the fact that despite numerous wartime handicaps the flow of business operations has continued without interruption. Unfortunately, she is no longer in a position to continue in this work.

Respectfully submitted, CONRAD TAEUBER, Secretary the were

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ANNUAL REPORT, MANAGING EDITOR, AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1, 1944 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1945

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Inventory of Proceedings: On November 30 the volumes of Papers and Proceedings on hand were:

Volume	Copies	Volume	Copies
I	4	XX	30
VIII	5	XXI	176
X	33	XXII	61
XI	I	XXIII	65
XII	9	XXIV	280
XIV	5	XXV	296
XV	123	XXVI	47
XVI	6	XXVII	236
XVII	14	XXVIII	76
XVIII	5	XXIX	57
XIX	154		
			T 682

Inventory of Review: On November 30 the number of copies of the American Sociological Review on hand were as follows:

Volume	I	(1936)	990
Volume	II	(1937)	955
Volume	III	(1938)	633
Volume	IV	(1939)	993
Volume	V	(1940)	1141
Volume	VI	(1941)	1161
Volume	VII	(1942)	1349
Volume	VIII	(1943)	1152
Volume	IX	(1944)	1028
Volume	\mathbf{X}	(1945)	1176*

The number of members receiving the *Review* and the subscribers, both library and general, continued to increase during 1945. Two thousand seven hundred copies of each issue are now being printed.

Six full-sized issues of the *Review* were printed and distributed. The April issue, containing the papers prepared for the 1944 meeting, consisted of 224 pages, 75% more than are contained in a normal issue.

In the December 1945 issue the Editors presented an analysis of manuscripts received and space allotments.

There continues to be a demand for back

volumes of the *Proceedings*, and for complete sets of the *Review* as well as for single copies to complete partial sets. Because the supply of some back numbers is limited, copies of these have been purchased as they became available, and supplied as ordered. Volume 1, Number 1, however, is now so scarce that its price has been raised to twice the original, and plans for multilithing additional copies are being considered.

Some requests to supply copies to replace those lost during the War have already been received and more may be expected. Some newly founded journals in wartorn countries are asking for exchange subscriptions. The Society may wish to examine the questions raised by such requests and formulate some policy for guidance in dealing with them.

Early in 1945 the printer informed us that it would be necessary to increase the labor costs of printing the Review by 12%. Expressed as a percentage of the total costs of printing the Review, this involves an increase of nearly 9%. The Executive Committee approved the granting of this increase. It will, necessarily, be continued into 1946. Under our contract we also carry increased costs of paper whenever the costs rise above the base price established in the contract. This item amounted to \$196 in 1945. Other items in the printing contract have remained at the levels established when the contract was first negotiated.

Your Managing Editor would be remiss in his obligations if he did not call your attention to the unfailing cooperation of the printer, the George Banta Publishing Company. Recent years have presented unusual difficulties, shortages of materials and of experienced labor, and numerous delays. Throughout it all the staff of the Banta Company, and especially Mr. F. R. Brandherm, have given careful consideration to our needs and willing assistance in solving our problems. There have been delays in getting out some issues of the Review, but every issue has appeared and it has not been necessary to make any serious adjustments in the quality of paper or of printing. The Banta Company also does smaller printing jobs for the Society and handles the mailing of materials going to all members. Here, too, the officers of the Society have received the wholehearted cooperation of the staff of the George Banta Publishing Company.

Respectfully submitted,

CONRAD TAEUBER, Managing Editor

^{*}Does not include undistributed copies of Number 6.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

FOR THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1, 1944 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1945

Income and Expenditures and Excess of Income over Expenditures in 1945 exceeded those for 1944 and each of the preceding four years. The 1945 total Income was \$11,837, compared with \$10,340 in 1944. Total Expenditures, including the extra cost for the enlarged April issue, which contained papers prepared for the cancelled 1944 Annual Meeting, were \$9,277. The Excess of Income over Expenditures for the fiscal year is \$2,560, as compared with \$2,053 last year.

The estimate of income used in the 1945 Budget proved to be conservative. Income from dues was nearly \$6,800. Subscriptions to the Review accounted for approximately \$3,000. Income from advertising in the Review has increased to \$1,225, a gain of \$648 over the low in 1943. Increases in costs all along the line account for some increase in expenditures. The major item is in the cost of printing the Review, which appeared in 1945 with five full-size and one over-size issue.

The income figure for 1945 includes the onetime item of \$400 from the American Library Association for Latin American subscriptions through the summer of 1947. It includes also \$415 in Life Memberships paid during the year.

Increased labor and other costs in the printing of the *Review* will undoubtedly continue. These are discussed more fully in the Report of the Managing Editor.

In line with the recommendation of the 1944 Committee on Budget and Investments, \$3,320.33 of the Society's funds was invested during the summer. Four Series F War Savings bonds with a maturity value of \$500 each, ten shares of Union Pacific Railroad common stock, and ten shares of Chesapeake and Ohio Railway common stock were purchased.

Cash on Hand and in the Bank on November 30, 1945 was \$5,148. The net balance shown on the Balance Sheet is now \$9,782, compared with \$8,093 a year ago.

Details of Income and Expenditures for the past fiscal year are covered in the Auditor's Report and in the Budget and Financial Statement included in the Report of the Committee on Budget and Investment.

Respectfully submitted, CONRAD TAEUBER, Treasurer

AUDITOR'S REPORT

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1945

December 12, 1945

To the Executive Committee of The American Sociological Society

We have examined the books and records of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1945. In connection therewith, we have reviewed the system of internal control and the accounting procedures of the Society, and, without auditing all of the transactions have examined or tested the accounting records and supporting evidence by methods and to the extent we deemed appropriate.

Accounts receivable were not confirmed by correspondence with the debtors, nor were the inventories of publications physically counted. Quantities were taken from available memoranda and valuation made at estimated costs previously used.

In our opinion, subject to the foregoing comments, the accompanying Balance Sheet and Related Statement of Income and Expense are in conformity with generally accepted principles of accounting applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year and present fairly the financial position of The American Sociological Society at November 30, 1945, and the results of its operations for the fiscal year then ended.

BENJAMIN F. REGARDIE

Certified Public Accountant Washington, D.C. Cash o Cash o Petty

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BALANCE SHEET-NOTEMBER 30, 1945

Assets

Assets			
Current Assets:			
Cash on Deposit-Citizens Bank of Riverdale		\$ 5,138.55	
Cash on Hand			
Petty Cash Fund—Editor's Office		25.00	\$ 5,173.55
Accounts Receivable			. 154.65
American Sociological Review:			
10,578 copies at \$.25		\$ 2,644.50	
Proceedings:			
1,614 copies at \$.50	.\$807.00		
32 copies at 1.85	. 59.20		
11 copies at 2.50			
26 copies at 3.00	78.00	971.70	
Social Problems and Social Processes by Dr. E. S. Bogardus, published by University of Chicago Press: 333 copies (without cost value)		_	3,616.20
Total Current Assets			£ 9 044 40
			. \$ 0,944.40
Investments (At Cost):			
Bonds: United States Savings Bonds, Series "F"		\$ T 480 00	
Hyde Park Baptist Church of Chicago, 6%, 1946 (See Note 1)			
Stocks:			
American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Common, Par \$100, 3 s	hares	296.00	
United States Steel Corporation, 7% Cumulative Preferred, Par \$100,			
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Common, Par \$25, 12 shares			
West Penn Electric Company, 7% Cumulative Preferred, Par \$100, 2 s			
Consolidated Natural Gas Company of Delaware, Common, Par \$15, Union Pacific Railroad Company, Common, Par \$100, 10 shares		-	
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, Common, Par \$25, 10 shares			5,482.48
chesapeare and onlo Railway company, common, tar \$25, 10 same			3,400.40
Deferred Charges:			
Deposit with Post Office			. 12.37
Total			\$14.420.25
			4.4,439.23
Liabilities:			
Magazine Subscriptions		\$ 23.90	
Withholding Taxes			\$ 92.20
Deferred Credits:			
Deferred Income: Dues:			
1945—Single\$	468.00		
1945—Student	37.17		
1945—Joint	12.00		
1945—Sustaining 1946—Single	5.00		
1946—Student	21.00		
1046—Joint	7.00		
1946—Sustaining	10.00		
	1,940.00	\$ 2,704.17	

110	AMERICAN SOCIOZOGICAZ NE			
Subscriptions:				
		.\$ 328.58		
1946—Library		. 1,141.50		
1947—Library		. 185.00		
1948—Library		. 6.00	1,860.64	4,564.81
Principal:				
	, 1944		\$ 8,092.97	
Add:				
Net Income for the	Fiscal Year Ended November 30, 1945		1,689.27	
Balance, November 30	, 1945			9,782.24
Total				\$14,439.25
, ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	interest rate reduced to 4%, cumulative, as of income and Expense for the Fiscal Year I			.5
Income:				
	w		2,445.44	
Sale of Publications:		e 429 20		
	er Pamphlets		£22.00	
	er rampinets		572.09	
9	5		1,264.47	
the same and the s				
Total Income	***************************************		• • • • • • • • • •	\$10,909.59
Expense:				
Cost of Printing and M	Mailing Review		\$ 6,171.06	
Clerical Aid			1,762,20	
	d Telegraph		235.09	
			229.90	
	y		214.11	
			150.00	
			129.80	
Census of Research		********	95.12	
	v Purchases		71.00	
	*******************************		64.30	
	Learned Societies		35.00	
	*****************************		33.65	
	nittee		30.00	
	***************************************		28.53	
	e		25.19	
Bank Service Charges	•••••		6.07	
Total Expenses				9,281.02
Excess of Income Over	Expenses			\$ 1.628.57
	nventory of Publications			60.70
	•			
Net Income for the Year	*			\$ 1,689.27
			=	

Income

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BUDGET AND INVESTMENTS

BUDGET AND FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1945 AND PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1946

Income	1045 Budget	1945 Account	1046 Budget
Treasurer's Account	710		
Dues	.\$ 6,000.00	\$ 6,796.50	\$ 6,500.00
Proceedings Sold	. 50.00	80.95	50.00
Income from Investments		154.50	200.00
Royalties	. 25.00	36.64	25.00
Miscellaneous Income		18.94	
	\$ 6,200.00	\$ 7,087.53	\$ 6,775.00
Review Account			
Subscriptions	\$ 2,200,00	\$ 3,069.84	\$ 2,400.00
Sale of Review		455.20	250.00
Income from Advertising		1,225.27	1,000.00
Miscellaneous Income		-,31	20.00
	\$ 3,120.00	\$ 4,750.31	\$ 3,670.00
Total Income		\$11,837.84	\$10,445.00
Expenditures			
•			
Treasurer's Account Clerical Aid	\$ 500.00	\$ 505.00	\$ 650.00
Postage, Telephone & Telegraph		, 00	125.00
	-	117.55	200.00
Printing and Stationery		165.86	
Office Expense		39.30	25.00
Travel, Secretary	50.00		50.00
Annual Meeting Expense	50.00		50.00
Dues and Subscriptions	35.00	35.00	35.00
Bank Charges	10.00	6.07	5.00
Auditor	150.00	150.00	100.00
Bad Debts	5.00	5.00	5.00
Election of Officers	125.00	129.80	135.00
Public Relations Committee	50.00	30.00	150.00
Committee on Membership	25.00	25.19	25.00
Census of Research	80.00	95.12	100.00
Proceedings purchased	20.00	59.00	20.00
Miscellaneous expense	25.00	16.11	25.00
Committee on Sociology in Secondary Schools Secretary's Contingency Fund	50.00		100.00
	\$ 1,645.00	\$ 1,379.00	\$ 1,800.00
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Review Account			
Editor—Clerical Help		\$ 747.20	\$ 900.00
Postage & Incidentals	275.00	55.00	275.00
Managing Editor—Clerical Help	500.00	505.00	650.00
Postage, Telephone and Telegraph	100.00	117.54	125.00
Printing and Stationery	75.00	48.25	75.00
Miscellaneous Expense	50.00	24.42	250.00
Printing of Review	5,900.00	6,171.06	5,700.00
Discounts Allowed	175.00	229.90	175.00
	7,975.00	\$ 7,898.37	\$ 8,150.00
Total Expenditures	9,620.00	\$ 9,277.37	\$ 9,950.00

^{*} Includes an additional \$300 voted for this item by the Administration Committee in May, 1945.

64.81

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Year	Total Income	Total Expenditures	Excess of Income Over Expenditures
1040	\$ 8,651.97	\$ 9,052.49	\$ 400.52
	8,755.66	8,354.64	401.02
1942	8,932.91	8,343.94	588.97
1943	8,633.71	7,648.95	984.76
1944	10,340.74	8,287.21	2,053.76
1045		9,277.37	2,560.47

Your 1945 Committee on Budget and Investments has carefully examined the Fnancial Statement and the proposed Budget for 1946, and approves the 1946 Budget as here presented.

The Committee had previously recommended to the Executive Committee that approximately \$3000 of the Society's funds be invested, that half of this fund be used to purchase government bonds, the other half to purchase stocks of the Union Pacific and Chesapeake and Ohio Railroads.

Respectfully submitted, FRANK H. HANKINS, Chairman STUART A. QUEEN HERBERT BLUMER

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CURRENT ITEMS

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINIONS

A NOTE ON BROOKOVER'S
"THE ADJUSTMENT OF VETERANS
TO CIVILIAN LIFE"*

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In his article entitled "The Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life," Lt. Wilbur B. Brookover, U.S.N.R., presented certain data secured by administering a questionnaire to 750 men who received medical discharges from the U. S. Navy and the Marine Corps. Lt. Brookover, in introducing his data, does not claim to have considered all aspects of veteran readjustment but says rather that his study "is more in the nature of suggestions for future study than a conclusive study of the needs and desires of returning veterans" (p. 580). Nowhere in the article, however, are there any specific suggestions for further research, and nowhere, in my opinion, is there a presentation of data or a discussion which would justify the title. "The Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life."

I should like to discuss briefly two aspects of Lt. Brookover's paper: (1) the adequacy of his data (or more accurately, perhaps, the adequacy of his techniques in securing the data); (2) the relevance of data on the plans of servicemen for understanding of problems of veteran readjustment.

The Adequacy of the Data Presented. Lt. Brookover asked a series of questions about the servicemen's interests and desires. He does not claim that the responses he obtained are predictive of what the men will do after discharge, yet in his interpretations he seems to make the assumption that they are predictive. Otherwise there is no relevance to the statement that because a stated percentage of the men desire to return to their old jobs, this percentage of men "will probably not have serious immediate problems of vocational readjustment" (p. 581). He does say that not all of these men will actually go back but concludes that "many of them will follow their expressed desires." If "many" does not mean the overwhelming majority, then the statement relating return to job to readjustment is statistically incorrect. (A more serious

*American Sociological Review, Vol. 10, October 1945. pp. 579-586. fallacy in this statement will be discussed shortly.)

How predictive are the responses obtained? How meaningful are the questions asked? Does the question, "Do you desire to return to your old job?" mean to your former employer and in the same occupation, to your former employer in any occupation, or to your same occupation with any employer? Lt. Brookover does not say, and it is likely that different respondents interpreted the question in different ways. Studies of the post-separation occupational plans of soldiers, conducted by the Research Branch, Information and Education, War Department, reveal that very different results are secured when different definitions of "old job" are used. Further, the question of returning to previous employment is relevant only for men who had a job.

The question, "Do you know what kind of work you want?" gives a meaningless set of percentages unless some specification is made of the dimensions in which the men are to reply. Asked such a general question some men will reply in terms of industry, some in terms of broad occupational groups, some in terms of salary, some in terms of the geographical location of the work. (I have myself noted these specific dimensions of reply in intervewing soldiers on the "kind of work" they planned to do.) Therefore, a given percentage of affirmative responses cannot be interpreted as meaning what it may seem to mean at first glancei.e., a given percentage decided as to occupations.

Each of the questionnaire items reported is open to criticism for lack of sufficiently precise specification. Lt. Brookover reports educational and age differences in responses to several items. Without questioning that age and educational differences do exist, I would submit that these items asked have different meanings to the man with fourth grade education and the college graduate. They are not necessarily predictive of the manifest content of any item as it appears to the researcher who worded that item.

An indication of the inadequacy of the items used as a basis for adequate description of

servicemen's plans is given by the following statistics presented in the article:

51% desire to return to old job (p. 581)

52% desire a new job (p. 582)

40% desire vocational or educational training (p. 584)

The text indicated that many of the men desiring education or training are planning full-time training, yet Lt. Brookover completely ignores the fact that he has therefore a high proportion of very inconsistent desires and that expressed desires may be only little related to what the men plan to do. One would like to know what choice the dischargee would make when presented the alternatives of old job, new job, or training (all defined more adequately than by Lt. Brookover.)

The above criticisms relate to the inadequacy of the questionnaire by which the data were obtained. Other questions might be raised about the adequacy of a sample of medical dischargees for generalizing about Naval personnel, even though Lt. Brookover found the dischargees to be fairly representative with respect to age, education and marital status. More crucial however, is the question of the relevance of the data presented (if the data were adequate) for an understanding of problems of veterans' readjustment.

Servicemen's Desires and Veterans' Readjustment. It is of interest to know how dischargees' plans vary with age, marital status and education. But far more relevant from the standpoint of potential problems of readjustment would be an analysis of how servicemen's plans relate to their abilities and to the opportunities available to them. In fact, desires and plans become relevant to problems of readjustment only when they are considered in the light of (a) the probability that they can be carried out, and (b) the probable consequences if they are or are not carried out.

It is not enough to say in the absence of any data that men who want to return to their old jobs will probably not have serious problems of vocational readjustment. At very least, one would like tentative answers to a number of questions of which the following are examples:

(1) How many of the men who desire to return to their old jobs actually have re-employment rights to a job or at least have a fair assurance that they will have an "old job" to go back to?

(2) How many of the men want to go back to their old jobs at the level at which they were working when they entered the service, and how many expect to go back to "old jobs" actually somewhat better than the ones they had left? (3) How many of the men who want their old jobs back will get them back only to find to their dismay that former co-workers who did not enter the service have gone far ahead of them and that their supervisors will not concede that military service has prepared the veteran for comparable advancement? The man who wants to go back to a job that he can't get, the man who expects a better deal from his former boss than the boss can offer him, the man who comes to feel that the 4F's have gotten better breaks with his former employer than he has-these men may be facing more serious problems of readjustment than the veteran who knows he must seek a new job if he is to do what he wants most to do.

The foregoing questions are illustrative of the problems that must be considered before reaching any conclusions about the probable vocational readjustment of men who plan to return to their old jobs. One should not expect answers to more than a few of the relevant questions in an exploratory study, but one might expect to find explicit recognition of the relevant questions. While data on plans may help to throw light on potential readjustment problems, such data will probably be valuable chiefly as a basis for hypotheses to be tested by a study of the returned veteran. Certain of the assertions and assumptions in Lt. Brookover's paper might be reformulated as hypotheses, but the article as it stands neither deals with the adjustment of veterans to civilian life nor does it offer any worth-while suggestions for future study.

JOHN A. CLAUSEN

War Department

REJOINDER TO MR. CLAUSEN'S NOTE ON "THE ADJUSTMENT OF VETERANS TO CIVILIAN LIFE"

Mr. John Clausen's comments on my paper "The Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life" are much appreciated because it gives me an opportunity to clarify certain points which were apparently not made clear to him and perhaps others in the original paper. There is no indication that Mr. Clausen takes issues with the major hypotheses of this study or that he thinks the data (although they are admittedly

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inadequate) do not support these hypotheses. It rather seems to the writer that Mr. Clausen is dissatisfied because the data did not solve certain problems with which the writer had no intention to deal. For this reason it seems desirable to restate the original purpose of the paper.

The writer's contact with discharged servicemen suggested the hypotheses that not all veterans were faced with major difficulties of readjustment as many pseudo-scientific reports seemed to indicate, and that the nature and extent of the problems encountered by veterans would be determined by various social and psychological factors. The hypotheses were stated

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Mr. Clausen's first criticism is that suggestions for further study are not specifically mentioned. It seemed to the writer that the basic hypotheses served the purpose of suggesting the need of further research. Every reader can immediately raise questions for which we need answers without further suggestions. Mr. Clausen has mentioned several of these in his note.

There seems little reason for quibbling over the title. The writer felt that a discussion of the civilian plans and desires of veterans with an analysis of the difference in these among various educational, age, and other groups was a phase of "The Adjustment of Veterans to Civilian Life."

Mr. Clausen raises several questions in his paragraph "The Adequacy of the Data Presented" of which the writer was well aware. However, again Mr. Clausen seems to think the data were being presented to demonstrate how many men would return to their old jobs, go to school, or obtain new employment rather than to point out the variations among veterans on these scores and to determine whether or not veterans have definite plans for civilian life.

The data were not all that could be desired because the nature of the study was circumscribed by the administrative needs of the Civil Readjustment Program as explained in the paper (p. 579). This determined somewhat the nature of the questions asked. However, the responses do give general information concerning the plans and desires of the men at the time. Nothing more is claimed.

The question "Do you desire to return to your old job?" had definite meaning to the men who responded. It was defined to them as the

work the man was doing immediately prior to entry in the service, that is, the job which he could claim under the selective service law. The explanation of the setting in which the questions were administered following an explanation of veterans' rights was not adequate to make the definition clear as assumed. "A new job" was defined to mean any job other than the one defined above.

Mr. Clausen's point concerning the apparent inconsistency in the responses to the questions concerning desire for "old job," "new job," or training is noted in the paper (pp. 582, 584). Many will return to a previous job while seeking a new one and many plan to work for a period before entering school. Educators tell me that the latter plan is being fulfilled in many cases now. The writer joins Mr. Clausen in the desire to know just what choice the veterans would make when faced with these various alternatives, but the means of obtaining that information were not available to him. This does not seem to invalidate the main purpose of the study.

The question of whether or not the 50 per cent who desire to return to their "old jobs" will have immediate problems of vocational adjustment is apparently the result of a misinterpretation of the comment concerning the likelihood that the veteran would return to his previous job. In view of the definition of "old job" it seems safe to assume that a man who said he desired to return to the job he left would fail to do so only if he obtained something more desirable to him or there was no job available. The latter was rarely an immediate problem when the paper was written.

The point of Mr. Clausen's discussion under "Servicemen's Desires and Veterans' Readjustment" seems to be that the study reported did not give us the answers to a great many questions which we would like to have answered. His suggestions for further study are excellent ones, but the writer did not have the facilities available to make these studies. In their absence it seemed desirable to know something about veterans' plans for readjustment. Knowledge of these plans and desires certainly has relevance to problems of readjustment in the sense that frustration in carrying out plans may become a major source of maladjustment. Foreknowledge of desires may make it possible to avoid such frustration.

Mr. Clausen seems to indicate that the paper

made numerous generalizations concerning the problems of veterans. Quite the contrary was true. The original article (p. 580) clearly points out the limitation of the data. In the last two paragraphs (pp. 585-586) the writer warned that it was "impossible to make overall generalizations concerning desires and plans of veterans" and that the results of this study only "lead to certain basic hypotheses." These have been clearly stated both above and in the original paper (pp. 585-586). The data seem to the writer to support these hypotheses in spite of certain inadequacies which were stated. At no point were claims made that data were presented which provided final knowledge concerning any or all of the problems of adjustment which veterans might encounter. However, it is believed this may have made some contribution toward the understanding of veterans' readjustment to civilian life.

LT. WILBUR B. BROOKOVER

U. S. Naval Hospital Seattle, Washington

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Cedar Crest College. Julia Roberts, former holder of a graduate scholarship at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology at Cedar Crest College. Cedar Crest has a four-year course in Community Recreation besides its regular sociology courses.

Colgate University. Dr. Richard F. Behrendt, who for the past two years has been Director of the Graduate Institute of Social and Economic Research and Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Inter-American University in Panama, has accepted a position as Associate Professor of International affairs at Colgate University. He will have charge of a new course in Social Problems of Latin America as well as other new courses relating to social, economic and political aspects of foreign areas.

Fordham University. Dr. N. S. Timasheff has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor. His book THE GREAT RETREAT: THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA, will appear in February, 1046 (E. P. Dutton & Co.). Another book entitled LIBERAL, COMMUNIST AND FASCIST SOCIETY, has been accepted for publication by the Bruce Publishing Co.

Iowa State College. Dr. Joseph B. Gittler, formerly of Drake University, has accepted a position as Associate Professor of Sociology at Iowa State College. A new journal in linguistics, WORD, appeared in Vol. 1, No. 1, April, 1945, pp. 96, as the organ of the Linguistic Circle of New York. It contains six articles dealing with peace (1), and linguistics (3), anthropology (1), and method of study (1). The circle was founded in 1943 since it seemed that New York was an ideal center for such study and the promotion of cooperation and the strengthening of scientific ties between the New and the Old World. Pauline Taylor of New York University is the managing editor.

Marietta College. Professor Robert F. Clark, Head of the Department of Sociology at Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, served as the official representative of the American Sociological Society at the inaugration of William Allison Shimer as President of Marietta College on October 20, 1945.

Michigan Sociological Society. The fall meeting of the society was held in the Union Building, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, on Friday, November 30, 1045. The program consisted of morning, noon and afternoon sessions at which eight papers were presented and some time given to a business meeting.

The winner of the 1945 Laetare Medal, G. Howland Shaw, former Assistant Secretary of State and well-known American penologist, has been a member of the American Sociological Society since 1939. The award was for his "outstanding work in the field of delinquency prevention and treatment."

Shrivenham American University. This institution was established in the summer of 1945 for soldiers then awaiting re-deployment to the Pacific or return to the States. Each term was to be of eight weeks' duration and a full roster of college courses was set up. The first term opened August first, the second, October eighth. Originally it was planned that the institution would run at least through June, 1946. But due to the ending of the war with Japan and other causes, this interesting experiment in higher education was liquidated by the War Department in December, 1945. Sociology was established as one of the nine branches or departments under the Liberal Arts Section. Courses were offered in the following subjects: Introduction to Sociology, Introduction to Anthropology, Rural Sociology, Urban Sociology, Marriage and the Family, Social Psychology (jointly with Psychology), and Contemporary Social Movements. During the first term the total enrollment in these courses was 172, in the second, 208,

The staff in the first term consisted of T/4 Gerald W. Breese, formerly of Pacific University; S/Sgt. W. Gordon Browder, formerly of the University of Texas; Capt. George A. Jackson, formerly of the University of Kentucky; M/Sgt. George Masterton, formerly of Washington State College; Capt O. F. Quackenbush, on leave from the University of

Florida; and acted as chaiterm, Lt. W. University of staff.

Temple U Chairman of since April U.N.R.R.A. 1 of the Welfa been the Prin Training Cen land, College directed for are doctors, gineers. The language stud ment of the study of the U.N.R.R.A. every Mond duties and te at Temple or

Texas Sta of Sociology Courses in P been author field course first time n rank will be will receive 150 hours of and Fort W a major in department Marriage at between 200 cause of the in this field, on Marriag Duvall of day meeting added to th with the M. and addition and Mexico she has tau several year ment on a Long Island Studies. She University : from Colum

University been added Sociology. of the Unipointed ass peared in an of the tains six nguistics dy (1).

Florida; and Kimball Young, Queens College, who acted as chairman. At the opening of the second term, Lt. W. C. Bradbury Jr., on leave from the University of Chicago, joined the departmental staff.

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Temple University. Dr. J. Stewart Burgess, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, has since April been associated with the work of U.N.R.R.A. Until September 1 he was Consultant of the Welfare Division. Since that date he has been the Principal Training Officer at the U.N.R.R.A. Training Center situated in the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. The training is directed for those going to China among whom are doctors, nurses, teachers, technicians, and engineers. The program includes area orientation, language study, discussions of the personal adjustment of the Westerner living in the Orient and the study of the principles, program and methods of U.N.R.R.A. Dr. Burgess has been in Philadelphia every Monday in connection with Departmental duties and teaching and will return to full-time work at Temple on February 1.

Texas State College for Women. The Department of Sociology has expanded its curriculum this year. Courses in Public Welfare and Social Statistics have been authorized by the curriculum committee. A field course in Social Work is being offered for the first time next semester. Only students of senior rank will be permitted to enter this course. They will receive three semester hours' credit for the 150 hours of work done in social agencies in Dallas and Fort Worth. The Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Social Work is now available. The department places great emphasis on its course in Marriage and Family Relationships. Each year, between 200 and 300 students register for it. Because of the interest of both faculty and students in this field, a conference is being planned in March on Marriage and Family Living. Evelyn Millis Duvall of Chicago will be featured in this twoday meeting. Two new faculty members have been added to the staff this year. Miss Dorothy Porter, with the M.A. degree from the University of Texas and additional work at the Universities of Chicago and Mexico, comes from Marshall, Texas, where she has taught sociology in the high school for several years. Esther Bloss comes to the department on a year's leave of absence from Baldwin, Long Island, where she was Director of Social Studies. She holds the A.B. degree from Cornell University and the M.A. degree and Ph.D. degree from Columbia University.

University of Maryland. Two new members have been added to the staff of the department of Sociology. Dr. Charles E. Hutchinson, formerly of the University of New Mexico, has been appointed assistant professor. Luke Ebersole, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University, has been appointed instructor.

University of Michigan. Dr. Horace Miner, recently Lt. Col. in the Counter Intelligence Corps, U. S. Army, has accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor of Sociology beginning March 1, 1946. Dr. Miner, whose training was in anthropology at Chicago, will offer courses in race relations and Latin American culture during the Spring Term. The latter course is a part of a program in Latin American studies being sponsored by the University. When Dr. Miner entered the Armed Services he had not completed a study of Timbuctoo which he was making as a Social Science Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow. He is planning to finish this study within the next year. For his services in Africa, Italy, France, and Germany, Dr. Miner was awarded the Legion of Merit and Bronze Star medal. Associate Professor Theodore M. Newcomb has returned to his teaching duties after serving in Germany as Assistant Director, Morale Division, U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey, since May, 1945. Associate Professor Lowell J. Carr is giving a new course entitled "Technology and Social Change."

University of Missouri. Dr. Elizabeth Guillot, chief medical social consultant with the Michigan Crippled Children's Commission, has been appointed Assistant Professor of social work. She will assume her teaching duties the second semester. Major Arthur W. Nebel has been released from military service and will rejoin the staff the second semester. Major Nebel has been in the army since 1941, part of which time was spent in China. He will serve as director of the social work curriculum which will be put in operation in the fall of 1946. Mr. Lawrence Hepple is teaching full time in the department this semester. Last year he was assigned to the Veterans' Center as special counselor for returning veterans. Mrs. Thelma Harris, of Jefferson City, is teaching the pre-professional social work courses this semester. Her work will be taken over by Miss Elizabeth Guillot after the first of the year. Mr. Gerard Schultz has been appointed Instructor in Rural Sociology and will teach courses formerly given by Dr. Harold F. Kaufman who joined the staff at the University of Kentucky. Mr. Herbert F. Lionberger, now with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, will join the staff as Assistant Professor for the second semester to assume teaching and research duties.

University of Pennsylvania. Assistant Professor Hugh Carter has resigned in order to accept the position as Director of General Research with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice.

University of Utah. Professor Arthur L. Beeley represented the American Sociological Society at the inauguration of Howard S. McDonald as Presi-

dent of Brigham Young University, Provo, on November 14, 1945.

Utah State Agricultural College. Professor Joseph N. Symons acted as the official representative of the American Sociological Society at the inaugration of Franklin Stewart Harris as President of the College on November 16, 1945.

Vanderbilt University. Dr. Wayland J. Hayes has returned to Vanderbilt after a leave of absence for carrying on a special research project at the University of Virginia. He was appointed Acting Chairman of the Department after the sudden death of Dr. Ernest T. Krueger. Dr. Marshall Clinard, formerly Instructor in Sociology at Iowa State University, has been appointed Associate Professor in Sociology. He has served during the war in the Division of Criminal Statistics of the Bureau of the Census and in the Enforcement Department of the Office of Price Administration. Dr. Belle Boone Beard is Visiting Professor of Sociology, on leave for the year 1945-46 from Sweet Briar College, where she is Chairman of the Department of Sociology. She and Dr. Hayes are collaborating on a study of sociological materials for professional personnel which is being made under a grant from the Rosenwald Fund.

Wayne University. Theodore M. Newcomb and Werner S. Landecker of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, are offering one course each during the fall semester 1945-46 at Wayne University, Detroit. Newcomb is teaching a course in psychology, and Landecker one in criminology. These courses had been taught by Edward C. Jandy who has taken a leave-of-absence from Wayne University to serve as UNRRA Director of Welfare for Ethiopia with headquarters at Addis Ababa. Melvin Tumin, Instructor in sociology, has just published Inter-Group Conflicts in Northwest Detroit, a study made under the auspices of the Jewish Community Council of Detroit. Tumin has also published *The Indians of San* Luis Jilotepeque, Guatemala as Number 2 in the University of Chicago microfilm collection of manuscripts on Middle American Cultural Anthropology. Eleanor Papierno Wolfe is aiding with courses in the College of Nursing for the Army Cadet Nurses Program as a Special Instructor in Sociology. The first number of the Wayne University Sociologist, edited by Norman D. Humphrey, Assistant Professor, has been mailed to the 800 alumni majors of the department for whom addresses were avail-

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American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People, Their Dilemmas. Revised Edition. By Howard W. Odum. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1945. Pp. vii + 549. \$3.00.

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The revised edition of this book, which marks a forward step in the field of applied sociology, is a distinct contribution to the understanding of America and the present future problems of her people. Prior to this work by the distinguished Odum, books on social problems were a different type. They considered classes of abnormal behavior without much reference to the

normal and "problems" out of most of their institutional framework. According to most of them, the "handicapped" were the subject matter and the factors making for these diseases and the cures were the same without regard to institutional or national boundaries. Odum sees America as an analytical entity and discusses social problems of this nation with specific regard to its historical and institutional background.

The work is in two parts, the first or largest dealing with Odum's analysis and the second giving references, questions and problems for further discussion. In the first book, one section deals with the cultural heritage, another the people, a third the institutions and a fourth the future situation (testing grounds). Book II largely retraces the organization of Book I. The author calls his viewpoint that of the "scientific-liberal" as opposed to the "dogmatic-conservative" and the "agnostic-objective." Nevertheless his differences from previous social problems books is largely as pictured above.

The author sees America as a young colonial culture made up of a heterogeneous population and just reaching the dilemma of maturity. The ultimate problems are survival, full utilization of men, material and technique for peacetime production and the preservation of freedom, equality and democracy. To achieve these ends, social planning of the highest order must be substituted for our previous habits "of drift and laissez faire." This is necessary to avoid the "Spenglerian" decline of culture after maturity, of course, which has plagued the former great civilizations.

In spite of the greatness of the work, there are many points with which the reviewer would quarrel. It might make the work more worthwhile if, in a digested form, Book II were incorporated in Book I. The main contribution of the work is thesis and approach. The source material is largely known to the specialist and will not be followed out by the run-of-the-mill teacher. His classification of periods in the preview of America (pp. ix-x) does not give a great perspective of the historical foundations of the country and its problems prior to World War I. The use of "realism" as a sociological concept (pp. 137 H and 502 H) is not clear. It seems doubtful to the reviewer if the vox populi, vox dei of the present has at all the same meaning as the similar conceptions of Jefferson and his intellectual preceptors, Rousseau and Paine, Possibly, if the author answered clearly his own question "What is the significance of the term 'the new realism of the people'?" (p. 503), he might clarify the matter. In the meantime it is hard for the reviewer to see that "the voice of the people is the voice of God" in the 18th century is comparable to the "revolt of the masses" in the 20th. It is hard to see how the "common sense" of the followers of Tom Paine can dissolve the many times more complicated problems of today. Neither does Odum think so fundamentally, for his work is an intellectual "search for the answers" and not a ten-page brochure on common sense to be placed in the hip pocket of every itinerant American.

Nevertheless, to repeat, this work is a distinct forward step and should make an excellent introduction to sociology or social problems text. In more advanced courses dealing with the peculiar problems of American culture, it should be read along with other works of historical and also those of more specialized nature.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University

The Social Theory of James Mark Baldwin. By Vahan D. Sewny. Morningside Heights: King's Crown Press, 1945. 94 pp. \$1.50.

The utility of the theories of important pioneer sociologists is, for contemporary students, steadily being augmented by critical and interpretive studies, to which the present unpretentious little volume makes an acceptable contribution. Nothing comparably intensive and thorough had previously been done on Baldwin.

Following a brief and not too revealing biographical sketch of the subject sociologist, the treatment proceeds to set forth his major theories bearing on the social origin of the self, the nature of social organization and institutions, the mode of social evolution and progress, and the roles of sociology and social psychology. In conclusion, there is a lucid summary and critical appraisal of Baldwin's system, with special reference to its subsequent influence.

That influence, as the author points out, has been considerably less than the weighty and sometimes surprisingly original lucubrations of the Princeton pioneer would seem to justify. Baldwin himself was largely responsible for this, partly owing to his ponderous style and partly to the weaknesses of the Hegelian dialectic and the recapitulation dogmas that confined like a straitjacket the larger creative possibilities of his basic formulations. Although he was perhaps the first American sociologist to conceive the empirical nature and social origin of the self, he never followed through with a satisfactory account of the self's genesis and development. But this study shows how he materially aided others, principally Cooley and Mead, in reaching their more cogent solutions of the problem.

CARROLL D. CLARK

University of Kansas

The Hopi Way. By Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. 151 pp. \$3.00.

This is the initial "pilot" study of a series of monographs dealing with the contemporary

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social adjustment of the Hopi, Navaho, Papago, Sioux and Zuni Indian tribes. The series is sponsored by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and the United States Office of Indian Affairs, with specific concern for the needs of administrative personnel of the Indian service. Chapters 1 through 8 present a concise summary of Hopi culture and probably constitute the most valuable part of the study in terms of the purpose for which it was conducted. Chapters 9 and 10 give brief case analyses of Hopi children with problems of personality adjustment. Some acquaintance with psychiatry would appear to be prequisite to an adequate interpretation of this material. The remaining 11 chapters devote much attention to results obtained from the administration of a number of psychometric tests. This section leaves much to be desired. Numerous comparisons are made between a sample of Hopi children and a virtually unidentified sample of white children and also between boys and girls of different age levels within the Indian group. Little effort is made to hold any factors constant and while percentages and raw scores are related, not a single test of statistical significance is applied to the data. There is no lack of enthusiasm, however, as the Hopi are referred to as being "remarkable" in six different places. Despite some lapses from objectivity, there are many observations and insights meriting attention.

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VERNON DAVIES
University of Minnesota

The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. By W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. 318 pp. \$4.00.

This is the third volume to appear in the projected six volume report of life in an old New England community as it went on during the first years of the 1930's. The two previous volumes each contained a chapter on ethnic groups; the present study is a fairly detailed account of eight immigrant groups: the Irish, French Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles and Russians.

The book begins with an interesting first chapter of fictionalized personal histories. This is followed by a brief chapter on methods of study, a longer account of ethnic spatial distributions, and six chapters on economic life, class relations, the family, the church, language and the school, and associations. A final chapter on "The American Ethnic Group" presents a

"conceptual scheme" to account for the social position and prospects of all racial and cultural groups in the United States.

The contributions of this study lie in the detailed information it gives concerning the institutional life of the ethnic groups under study, and the effects of American culture, particularly as reflected in the open-class system, on their assimilation. By analyzing the institutional systems in terms of specific generations, and by dividing the immigrant generation into two groups on the basis of age at the time of migration, the authors have brought out some interesting and important differences. The comparative treatment of the various ethnic groups in a single community is shown to be a fruitful method of analysis, although the reviewer feels that this should have been made to yield more significant generalizations.

The weaknesses of this study are several. Perhaps the outstanding one is the failure to relate the data and explanations to previous studies in this field. For instance, the detailed analysis of spatial distribution is not checked against earlier studies; only a brief acknowledgment is made of the pioneering work of Park and Burgess. The facts presented are of interest, but it is difficult to see what addition has been made to theoretical knowledge. The same can be said of the discussions of culture conflict and personality. Again, it is surprising to find so little discussion of such problems as intermarriage and prejudice. One would suppose that the mobility and assimilation problems of the Iews could be clarified by a consideration of anti-semitism.

The final chapter, which presents a conceptual scheme that "places a subordinate group in its relative rank within our social hierarchy" is particularly vulnerable. The factor of color, including the distinction between light Caucasoids and dark Caucasoids, is made primary over cultural factors in an absolute manner which experience hardly supports. The "timetable of assimilation," given the recency of most of our ethnic groups, is quite speculative. The factors involved in assimilation are more numerous and complex in their effect than Warner and Strole assume. It is difficult to see how the hypotheses of this chapter grow out the materials presented in the preceding pages.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

Skidmore College

Miami: Economic Pattern of a Resort Area. By Reinhold Paul Wolff. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami, 1945. 172 pp. No price indicated.

Professor Wolff's monograph on Miami, Florida, is a welcome addition to the growing number of studies centered on particular communities. It is the rural or semi-urban community that has been receiving the most attention, thanks to the rural sociologists. The "experiment station" arrangement facilitates, if it does not virtually require, local research; but the impetus does not arise solely from such locally practical considerations, as the current volumes sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture bear witness. The study here reviewed belongs rather with the much smaller number of investigations into the economic and/or social structure of various types of urban communities.

It has long been obvious that even rather large cities may be economically specialized around particular products or services. The significance of this specialization, and especially its ramifications in the ecological and social structure of the metropolis, has received only scattered and unsystematic attention. Professor Wolff has not addressed himself to this task as such. His focus is upon resources, occupations and incomes. Within this narrower frame he looks at both the past and the future.

The book's six chapters and supplementary tables set forth the basic economic statistics relating to Miami, Dade County, and the southern part of the Florida peninsula. Comparative statistics are occasionally adduced to illustrate some of the results of Miami's peculiar specialization-the tourist trade. The possibilities of broadening the city's economic base are discussed in detail. In general this survey seems to indicate that Miami and vicinity must continue to trade upon climate, expanding those industries serving local consumers (attracted to the community by the climate), and growing those crops that meet out-of-season demand in other parts of the country. In addition, however, the author sees considerable possibility for exploitation of Miami's proximity to the densely populated Caribbean countries.

Professor Wolff keeps a note of sustained optimism that may or may not be the result of sponsorship of the study's publication by the Miami Chamber of Commerce. He does not, however, overlook such disadvantages as the special difficulties of hinterland agricultural development in an area with almost no natural drainage. But on the question of climate he allows himself to become enthusiastic. It appears

that in Miami cloudiness is advantageous when it occurs (Los Angeles is less cloudy), and the sunshine is wonderful, too.

Certain technical details cannot escape a reviewer's attention. The book contains no list of tables (rather confusingly referred to as "charts") and charts, and no index. There is a more serious weakness: the metropolitan community is never defined as to its limits, the names and location of suburbs, and the like. There is no map, which is surely, at least by convention, a sine qua non for community studies. Not all of the statistical comparisons are appropriate. For example, Miami's occupational structure is compared with the national average, rather than with the total urban population, or, preferably, with cities of the same size. It can scarcely be regarded as deeply significant that the city of Miami has a smaller proportion of farmers than has the country as a whole. It would be more interesting to know the comparative proportions of publicity men or public relations counselors.

Yet this study provides a useful compendium of materials that should be helpful to sociologists as well as to rival Chambers of Commerce, each for own purposes.

WILBERT E. MOORE

Princeton University

Plainville, U.S.A. By James West. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xv + 238. \$2.75.

Plainville, U.S.A. is a study of a small village (65 homes and a dozen stores), together with its hinterland, by an anthropologist using the interview and notebook method, together with several "life histories" and various records and other printed materials. Very often this local community does not furnish all the data needed for the inferences drawn so the whole county, given the name Woodland, is used for support.

The author spent the 14 months betwen June 1939 and August 1940, and two months, July and August in 1941, gathering the materials for his analysis of this "backward" and "poor" community. He came upon Plainville "by accident" while out looking for a community in which to study "how one relatively isolated and still 'backward' American farming community reacts to the constant stream of traits and influences pouring into it from cities and from modern farming communities." This expanded into a study of three problems, namely, the system of discrimination in the community, the specific cultural traits of the local environment,

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and how government agencies were influencing "traditional" farming. The basic materials were obtained from "notebook" interviews behind closed doors with informants, some of whom were interrogated for several hundred hours. We are not told how many persons were interviewed so thoroughly.

The contents of the book includes a description of Plainville, including location, settlement, resources, activities; a discussion of the general social structure, in terms of family, neighborhoods, clubs and groups, a study of the class structure, including cliques, class, and mobility; a discussion of the importance of religion in local life; an analysis of the folkways and mores as they influence the group growing up here, and finally, a study of social change was brought about by the impact of the outside world.

The whole study is well-written and each idea illustrated by phrases or sentences obtained from the interviews which express the viewpoint of the local people. Thus it is the natives who are themselves describing their own community organization with the researcher making the interpretation. At some points one wonders whether enough factual data have been obtained to support an inference, but this does not occur frequently. This is a good illustration of what can be achieved by the interviewing techniques of the anthropologist and is, therefore, of considerable interest to the sociologist. W. A. ANDERSON

Cornell University

Crime and the Human Mind. By DAVID ABRA-HAMSEN, M.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. xiv + 244. \$3.00

"It is basically an instability of the three factors-criminalistic tendencies, mental resistance, and the situation-that leads man into crime." (page 30) This constitutes the basic thesis of Abrahamsen's book and at first glance it appears as though a thesis that conceives crime as the product of such factors leaves little to dispute. A conception of criminal behavior committed to an explanation of such behavior as the product of the interaction of the individual and the environment will find, it is believed, ready endorsement. Furthermore, anyone acquainted with the literature on criminal behavior will recall that such an explanation of crime has been in existence for quite some time. He will likewise remember that such a conception of criminal behavior has furnished the basis for numerous investigations of crime and criminals-investigations which, for the most

part have yielded meager results which substantiate or negate such an explanation of criminal behavior. The characteristic inability of investigations to test the soundness of any explanation of criminal behavior may in part be traced to the fact that it has been exceedingly difficult to create methods which would permit the manipulation of the many elements which combine to produce the criminal and his acts. In addition, investigators have found themselves faced with another difficulty created by the lack of techniques to render possible the isolation and measurement of the significant variables associated with criminal behavior. As a consequence of these two prevailing difficulties much of what constitutes the body of knowledge of the field of study called criminology has remained

either wholly or partially untested.

In view of what has been said any newly published treatise on criminology is bound to command interest and attention from students of the subject. The appearance of a publication in this field usually carries the promise that its author may have discovered the answers or the way to find the answers to the many questions that plague the students of criminal behavior. Abrahamsen's book arouses the prospective reader's hopes. Its jacket, its blurb, its foreword and its preface all combine together to give an expectant reader a feeling that Abrahamsen may have been successful in doing what his conception of the nature of crime demands; namely, the identification of first order variables and the creation of techniques that make possible the manipulation of such variables. A reading of the book will show, it is believed, that its author has been no more successful than others, and although one may completely agree with his conception of criminal behavior his book is hardly more than an attempt to demonstrate what the "psychiatric-psychologic viewpoint" has to offer for our understanding of criminal behavior. In short the reader will find that Abrahamsen's book contains materials which indicate what he and other psychiatrists believe to be the nature of the criminal and of criminal behavior. It is true that those who are attracted by psychiatric concepts and terms will find the book enlightening and satisfactory. However, those who are factual-minded, who insist upon having concepts rigorously defined so that the concepts used in the analysis of a phenomenon attain a satisfactory degree of objectivity and communicability will find Abrahamsen's book disappointing.

E. D. MONACHESI

University of Minnesota

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Anales de Economía y Estadística. Contraloría General de la República, Bogotá, Colombia. Imprenta Nacional, 1945. 104 pp.

At rather frequent intervals new reviews and professional journals are appearing in the Latin-American Republics. This is one of them. It was begun in January of this year and is published monthly by the Office of the Comptroller General in Bogotá. The February issue contains the following articles and subject matter sections:

- 1. The stabilization of money
- 2. Post-war controls
- The administration of the national budget for January, 1945
- 4. Production statistics
- The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
- 6. Delinquency statistics in Colombia
- The post-war problem of prices: Inflation or Deflation
- 8. General statistical briefs
- 9. Indexes of trade statistics
- 10. The 1945 industrial census of Colombia
- 11. Books and bulletins received
- Various statistics (Foreign commerce, mining, industrial production, demographic data, etc.)

The nature of this publication is revealed by its table of contents. A major portion of the subject matter is economic. Interest of sociologists in this publication will be limited to the data on population, vital indices and a section on delinquency in the Republic.

The articles are well written and seemingly carefully edited. Population estimates are crude, arrived at by adding the excess of births over deaths to the base provided by the last census with little or no attention to the incomplete reporting of births and deaths or to another sizeable factor—migration. Material such as this represents a beginning, however, of the accumulation of statistics and methods for procuring them—both great gaps in so many of the other American Republics.

Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations

An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing: A Yardstick for Health Officers, Housing Officials and Planners, Part I. Nature and Uses of the Method. New York: American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, 1945. 71 pp. \$1.00.

This little book is the product of four years

of study by the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing and its staff. They undertook through consultation with many kinds of experts and by experimentation to develop a method for measuring the quality of housing in terms of health requirements and thereby to reduce the margin of guessing which has been characteristic of efforts to determine slum areas, slum dwellings, basically deficient houses and houses unfit for human habitation. Many states have statutes which in rough ways set forth the characteristics of slum dwellings and provide authority for local governments to require correction or to remove the undesirable house. In all such cases, however, the local officials had to resort to rule-ofthumb judgments at the risk of court suits and outraged public opinion. The method of measuring the quality of housing should provide a systematic approach to planning and condemnation action which would be based upon demonstrable fact.

The appraisal method requires the use of schedules to get data on each house in an area and on the environment. The Committee points out that the nearest approach to such a standardized method has been the real property inventories which lacked precision and took little account of environmental conditions. This book sets out the method and its uses and employs a survey made in New Haven to illustrate the results which can be obtained. Both houses and environment are rated according to a penalty scale: a good house or a satisfactory aspect of environment gets a rating of zero. The weights attached to various deficiencies have been adopted after numerous criticisms by experts in the field, and the authors report that the public officials of New Haven have accepted the survey there as an objective basis for planning.

The Committee developed its method on the basis of studies located chiefly in the northern states, though they did spend some time in a small city of a southern state. It is quite possible that some alteration of the standard schedule would have to be made to give it the same degree of efficiency in a warm climate, such as exists in Florida, South Texas or Southern California, but this could doubtless be done. The Committee is prepared to provide the schedules and written instructions at reasonable cost and will provide consultation for a fee. They caution against trying to use the appraisal method without the assistance of one of their consultants who normally would spend two

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weeks or more in the community where the survey is to be made and where the consultants will advise on planning and give instruction to the survey staff. Experience in the use of the survey method will doubtless lead to changes of various kinds, but the tests of reliability and validity to which it has been subjected indicate that it is without question the most scientific approach yet made to measurement of housing quality on a large scale.

R. CLYDE WHITE

Western Reserve University

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Farmers of the World. Edited by EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER, IRWIN T. SANDERS, and DOUGLAS ENSMINGER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 208 pp. \$2.50.

Just before starting to read Farmers of the World the reviewer happened to examine a pamphlet entitled "Towards a World of Plenty" published by the United Nations Information Office. The latter publication contained the following challenging sentence. "Instead of restrictive agricultural policies, what is needed are definite policies to increase consumption and application of modern technical and scientific knowledge to agriculture in all parts of the world so that output per man hour can be increased and cost of production reduced, while at the same time quality of product is improved." The authors of various chapters in Farmers of the World have outlined the nature of the challenge from the standpoint of agricultural extension, or what is similar to agricultural extension in several parts of the world. Here one finds chapters about extension work in China, India, Latin America, in the Balkans, among the Arab Fellahin, peasant societies, inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and among non-literate peoples. Other chapters deal with Euro-American rural society, the United Kingdom, northwest Europe, and the United States. An introductory chapter and a concluding one entitled "The Role of Extension Work in World Reconstruction" complete the volume.

The author of each chapter has had some direct contact with the rural culture which he describes with sociological insight. The result is an interesting, authoritative account of problems to be encountered in developing extension programs in different parts of the world. Although more than a dozen persons contributed to the volume, it contains certain elements of continuity in thought. The principles of culture variation and culture change are evident

throughout the volume. Also the fact that culture traits of the inhabitants of a country, or even of a local community, will determine in a measure the development of programs in the application of scientific facts to help people meet their needs is generally recognized. These principles interpreted from the standpoint of various cultures illustrate and verify the conception of extension work as a social process.

Each chapter furnishes valuable information about the culture and problems of rural inhabitants in the countries described, irrespective of their influence on extension work. Thus the book is a contribution to the literature of Rural Sociology. Though the description of each culture group or area is necessarily brief and general and lacks statistical evidence, the content of the various chapters is not impressionistic. Rather each one is an essay written from an objective point of view. In the judgment of this reviewer, the most effective portions were those descriptions which showed how culture factors contributed to, or retarded, the success of an extension project. Occasional didactic statements intended for extension workers seemed to add little to the value of the work. A fitting sequel to Farmers of the World would be a volume entitled "Case Studies of Extension Work" which would give with appropriate analysis detailed descriptions of the development of extension projects in different cultural settings.

CHARLES R. HOFFER

Michigan State College

Population Roads to Peace or War. By GUY IRVING BURCH and ELMER PENDELL. Washington 5, D. C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1945. Pp. v + 138, \$1.00.

This book relates population growth to the problem of making a durable peace, the assumption being that population pressure is a cause of war. The point that freedom from want and the other provisions of the Atlantic Charter are unattainable without radical limitations of the birth rate is emphasized. The authors minimize the importance of good will and technology as factors in keeping peace and saving people from want and stress the inevitable pressure of population upon resources which will drive men to hunger, famine and war. It is assumed that democracy and freedom from want are mutually dependent.

The book contains many interesting and important facts and will undoubtedly serve to

stimulate thinking on important and critical problems of population. Sociologists will, however, classify it as propaganda rather than an objective scientific statement. It gives about as little place to the constructive influence of science and technology, invention and manufacture as did Malthus, although the authors do advocate birth control as the positive check.

PAUL H. LANDIS

The State College of Washington

The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization. By S. F. Cook (Ibero-Americana: 21, 22, 23, 24, including: I. The Indian versus the Spanish Mission; II. The Physical and Demographic Reaction of the Nonmission Indians in Colonial and Provincial California; III. The American Invasion, 1848–1870; IV. Trends in Marriage and Divorce since 1850). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943.

In 1770 there were 135,000 Indians in California, exclusive of the Modoc, Paiute, and Colorado River tribes. Toward the end of the 1860's the number had shrunk to less than 30,000. This reduction in population was accompanied by an even more serious decline in health, in land holdings, and in cultural stability. Dr. Cook reconstructs the story chronologically, according to period, and analytically, in terms of the principal factors operating during the particular time span. In the mongraphs which result, he has produced a series of background documents fundamental to the understanding of the social history of California.

The first and longest of the studies has to do with the Indians along the coastal strip who came under the control of the Spanish missions. In spite of conversions, baptisms, and births, the greatest number who lived at the missions at one time was 21,100, in 1820; an appalling death rate kept the figure from rising beyond this. During the years when the missions flourished (1779-1833) there were 29,100 births at these centers and 62,600 deaths instead of the expected 40,000 births and 40,000 deaths.

The author sees disease as an important cause of this excess of deaths over births. Syphilis was a great scourge and was spread, in spite of the efforts of clergy and officers, by the rape and use of Indian women by Spanish soldiers. Poor sanitation, lack of medical treatment, and crowded quarters insured the spread of any contagious disease, however introduced. The diet offered at the missions is found to

have been another contributing factor. After a careful survey of the records, Dr. Cook states: "The tremendous incidence of disease, especially continuous, nonepidemic disease, suggests a level of nutrition probably insufficient for ordinary maintenance and certainly below the optimum necessary to provide a high resistance to infection." (p. 55)

On the psychological level the mission system led to homesickness and despair and to indifference on the part of the Indians to their own disintegration and decline. The author finds that the restraints imposed upon these Indians amounted to keeping them in a state of captivity. A people who were used to living in small groups of thirty to one hundred were concentrated in numbers which went up as high as two thousand. Their own religious customs were proscribed. Two sexes were separated at puberty, and the unmarried of each sex slept together in crowded, inadequate dormitories. Fugitivism was common, although it led to military expeditions to recover the apostates and to punishment. Abortion and infanticide were frequent. About conditions of work the author has this to say: "Despite innumerable lamentations, apologies, and justifications, there can be no serious denial that the mission system, in its economics, was built upon forced labor." (p. 95) Moreover. Indians were not only compelled to work for the missions but were "lent" to the presidios as manual laborers and as domestic servants. At first these workers were paid, but "subsequent to 1790 the attempt to pay for Indian labor was abandoned and the work was done under unmitigated compulsion." (p. 97)

The second paper of the series traces the fate of the nonmission Indians in colonial and provincial California. At first expeditions of the Spaniards beyond the "mission strip" had as their motive the recapturing of fugitives. Often there was little or no bloodshed. After the decline of the missions in 1832 and until the period ended in 1848, expeditions to the interior were carried on primarily in retaliation against Indians who had stolen cattle and horses and to provide cheap farm labor for private ranches. "Thus punishing stock thieves and capturing farm labor became almost the same in method." (p. 5) After citing illustrative documentary evidence of this manner of acquiring ranch labor, Cook concludes: "From these and other instances the impression is gained that capturing, or perhaps better, kidnapping, had grown to the dimensions of a major industry by 1848." (p. 28)

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Yet in spite of these tactics, in spite of occasional massacres, in spite of the losses and starvation occasioned by the abandonment of attacked villages, in spite of disease and some missionization, the Indians of the interior fought back and fairly well maintained their territory and their numbers.

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The third monograph, titled The American Invasion, 1848-1870, carries on this tragic story. The Spaniards had penetrated the interior but had never occupied it. Where they were in close touch with the native they tried to incorporate him into their religious, and to some extent, into their social system. But in 1848, when gold was discovered in California, the Americans poured in by the thousands and settled everywhere. Their inclination was to exterminate, not to convert, the Indian, and they felt no compunction about taking or destroying his property. The streams from which the Indians took salmon were polluted by the white man's mining operations. The acorns and wild seeds which were food staples of the California Indian went to hogs and cattle which the white man brought. Disease spread rapidly and no native settlement was safe from raid and massacre. The violence displayed against the native women is almost unbelievable. After reviewing the evidence, the author concludes: "As a focus for hatred and emotional conflict between the races the wholesale rape of Indian women stands unique." (p. 89) In their misery and melancholy the Indians practiced abortion and infanticide on a large scale. Under the mission system the Indians had diminished at a mean annual rate of o.g. The unmissionized Indians were reduced, until 1848, by 0.8 annually. "The surviving mission Indians together with the remainder of the wild tribes which were subjected to Anglo-American influence from 1848 to 1865 diminished from 72,000 to 23,000, a mean annual depletion of 2.9 per cent." (p. 92)

But, because of its implications for today's problems, the most impressive section of this third volume is the one which describes how the labor of those Indians who survived the white man's rifle and diseases was utilized. The forced labor and peonage system which grew up during the Spanish colonial period was accepted and implemented by law. By legislative act Indians were denied the right to testify against a white man. A second law made it possible for any Indian to be brought into court and, on the word of a citizen, to be declared a vagrant subject to having his services sold to the highest bidder. Then an indenture law made it possible

for an Indian to be bound over to a citizen for a long term of years. With the Indians shorn of all legal rights, it was inevitable that forced labor on ranches was perpetuated and that kidnapping and enslavement of Indians was common. As late as 1867 parents were being killed to obtain children to sell into servitude.

In a significant passage Dr. Cook writes: "One is tempted from this point to follow through the persistence of the forced-labor idea in subsequent years. It would be possible to show how the cheap labor market passed from the Indian to the Chinese and how the same rationale of peonage and compulsion was applied to the latter. One might then pass on to the new groups, each of which gradually replaced the other-the Italians of the 'eighties, the Mexicans and Filipinos of the early nineteenth century, down to the 'Okies' of our own times, Simultaneously, one could trace the rise of great agricultural interests, dependent upon masses of unskilled, transient workers, which utilized these groups one after another. Finally, there could be delineated the thread of peonage or force in some aspect as applied by the landowners to all these systems. The influence of Iberian or Anglo-American civilization, as derived from primitive Spanish-Indian labor relations, could be demonstrated by such a survey." (pp. 61-62)

It will be noted that Dr. Cook tactfully omits the Japanese from his list of groups which have been used in the cheap labor market and then rejected, although his thesis and his monographs throw more light on the recent evacuation from the West Coast of the Japanese and Japanese-Americans (who were no longer satisfied to be agricultural laborers) than some hundreds of articles on the subject. And why Dr. Cook should talk about the temptation to follow through the persistence of the forced labor idea in California is not clear. If we add to Dr. Cook's monographs, Mary Roberts Coolidge's Chinese Immigration, Paul S. Taylor's writings on the agricultural laborers from Mexico, and Carey McWilliams' Factories in the Field, we have a series which performs the function admirably. And perhaps Dr. Cook's contributions are the most important of all because they throw historical light on the source and impetus of patterns of thought and action which Californians must re-examine carefully, if they expect any respite from inter-group ten-

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Morris Edward Opler

Washington, D. C.

Practical Applications of Democracy. By GEORGE B. DE HUSZAR. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 140 pp. \$2.00.

This volume is of the same genre as contributions to the subject by Dewey, Follett, Lindeman, and their school. The author distinguishes three kinds of democracy: talk-democracy, consent-democracy, and do-democracy. Talk-democracy begins and ends with eulogistic statements about democratic ideals. Superficially considered, it is just words; actually it is a deadly menance to democratic institutions. "The real fifth column of a country," says de Huszar, "are the citizens who merely talk about democracy but do not act and encourage others to act democratically. Democracy, whether in war or peace, is a continual struggle; the noncombatant is a deserter."

Consent-democracy is the prevailing variety in the United States. It has few doers, but many who consent or protest. Many times it is not too difficult to sell it a "bill of goods." Consent-democracy is essential, but it must be buttressed by do-democracy if a country is to be made reasonably safe for democracy.

Do-democracy is something you do; it is participation, facing problems together. Its basic instrumentality is the problem-centered group, the optimum size of which, for most purposes, is around a dozen members. It deals, not with problem areas, but with problems of adjustment wherever people live or work together.

Larger democratic organizations are federations of such groups, But the problem-centered group can be developed within and largely democratize hierarchical structures, such as are so common among private corporations, labor unions, school systems, religious denominations, political organizations, government departments. Perhaps the most celebrated instance is the transformation of personnel relations at the Hawthorn plant of the Western Electric Company, under the leadership of Elton Mayo.

A rare case of do-democracy in the field of journalism (one hitherto unknown to the reviewer) is a local paper known as Millar's Chicago Letter. Each number deals with a current issue; it is the joint product of editor and reader, with special advisory committees and individual consultants playing a central role. Unlike the commercial paper, this group (readers are called members) believes that co-operation is more important than discord, and that relationships deserve greater emphasis than isolated events.

Considerable attention is given to public school systems but there is scarcely any mention of colleges and universities, though the book is about them, too, with their hierarchical organization and their indoctrination of students in talk-democracy. If the administrators and faculties of these institutions could examine and understand and apply the principles of dodemocracy—which, however, they cannot, so muscle-bound are the great majority by traditional notions and attitudes—a revolutionary and long overdue transformation would be wrought.

The book has its faults. The problem-centered group is not offered as a panacea; but an analysis of typical problem-centered groups that failed of their objectives would have been illuminating. So also would a discussion of types of individuals not qualified for membership in such groups—like the non-stop talker, for instance, or the dogmatist who knows all the answers, or the person too dumb to recognize a problem on his own doorstep, much less do any "creative" thinking about it.

Notwithstanding such faults, this book with its simple, forceful expositions, the variety of case materials, its use of graphic illustrations makes democracy "live" for the reader as does no other volume known to the reviewer. It may well prove to be one of the great books of this generation.

SEBA ELDRIDGE

University of Kansas

Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy. By UR-BAN H. FLEEGE. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1945. 384 pp. \$3.50.

The "problemmaire" method was used to study 2,000 Catholic adolescents in 20 Catholic high schools in 12 states and the District of Columbia. Schools were located in 18 cities, all with populations of over 50,000, with the emphasis on schools in cities of several hundred thousand population. One out of every 63 boys in the Catholic high schools of the United States contributed to the study. The schools were variously staffed—by brothers, by sisters, by priests and by religious and lay teachers.

While adolescence is regarded by the author as a transitional period involving "extensive and profound changes in the whole life organization" the author finds the Catholic adolescent to be "fundamentally wholesome" with "flaming youth" a popular misconception. (p. 346) Most of the adolescents (90 per cent) are satisfied

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and happy in their homes, the large majority regard their school life as happy, 98 per cent like to go to Holy Communion and 86 per cent like to go to Confession. In the realm of social life the adolescent is fairly well adjusted and drink is not a problem. His biggest personal problem is in the realm of purity and his topmost wishes involve money and lasting happiness in heaven. Important fears include failure and death while in the state of impurity.

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Modern students no longer regard adolescence as a problem period *per se* but no one has found the adolescent or any other group to be as well adjusted as is the adolescent in this study.

The problemmaire used includes 200 questions designed to let the boy evaluate his own adjustment. Herein lies the weakness of the study. "Did you have a happy chidlhood?" was the type of question. A searching inquiry would have included many questions that would have discovered happiness or unhappiness in the life of the boy. This is not a study of adolescence but the boy's own opinion of his adjustment.

Such terms as purity and wholesomeness are not defined and therefore have no scientific value. The importance of the study lies in the fact that an attempt has been made to study adolescence against a specific cultural background. This is the proper procedure for the study of any age group, with the realization that no age period is a problem period per se.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Human Relations in Industry. By Burleigh B. GARDNER. Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, 1945. 307 pp. \$3.00.

Here is a presentation of the human structure of industry. This kind of book was bound to appear sooner or later. The need has been great. Moreover, the resources to provide for its fulfillment have been growing.

Many industrial leaders are aware that the human problems of management are insistent. Mr. Lawrence A. Appley of Vick Chemical Company told the American Management Association a few years ago that the "gap between sound personnel practice and management practice has never been closed and that gap is widening."

Burleigh Gardner is not the first to carry the methods and concepts of sociology and anthropology to a study of this gap, but he is the first to use such a background in writing a clear and simple description of "an industrial concern as

a functional whole and to consider the place and function of its personnel organization and practices in the total pattern." This book coupled with W. Lloyd Warner's forthcoming *The Social System of the Modern Factory* should prove to be landmarks in the developing field of industrial sociology.

The theory and research sponsored by the men and money of the Harvard School of Business Administration is beginning to bear increasing returns. Elton Mayo, T. N. Whitehead, F. J. Roethlisberger, and W. J. Dickson have provided resources to stimulate a surprising volume of sociological interest in modern industrial problems. Burleigh Gardner began his research career by studying the structure of modern communities under the sponsorship of the Harvard group. Five years as an employee relations research director with the Western Electric Company gave him direct contact with industry at all levels. Now, as assistant professor of industrial relations at Chicago, he has written a book designed to guide the executive or prospective executive through the human problems of management. The emphasis is upon industrial relations activity as it actually works itself out in a given organization. Such a treatment is in bold contrast to the usual presentation of the basic functions expected of an efficient industrial relations program.

The book is organized in such a way as to produce three distinct views of human problems in industry. The first six chapters describe the factory as a social system. A second view stresses the individual in the structure with the claim that "each person has a definite position and role in relation to every other in the factory where he works." The third and final part of the book is devoted to the industrial relations organization with discussions of employee relations, personnel counseling, and minority groups in industry.

The materials are largely "insightful." Illustrative case materials are frequently used. The scarcity of footnotes and the absence of bibliography suggest either a general lack of research materials in the field with which to document the text or a studied attempt to write a simple and direct statement of an interpretative nature. The analysis is limited to relatively large scale industrial organization.

The book emerges as an excellent elementary text for the training of executives, It should be especially influential in making the business man aware of the plant as a community within which he and his fellow workers live. Our most alert executives often say, "If management would only give as much attention to the human element as to production, most of our problems would be solved." The beginning of such wisdom can be activated by *Human Relations in Industry*.

DELBERT MILLER

Kent State University

Mainsprings of Civilization. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1945. 660 pp. \$4.75.

In some respects this volume is a résumé of the author's ideas presented in a number of previous volumes, particularly The Character of Races, The Pulse of Progress, Season of Birth and After Three Centuries. He has introduced, however, some new points of view in his theory of "kiths" and in his theory of the

social effects of climatic cycles.

Those familiar with Professor Huntington's previous writings will recall his theory of the selective effects of migration on racial composition. He has, however, modified somewhat his point of view on races in that he recognizes that practically all races contain all grades of the various human capacities and he opposes the notion of superior and inferior races. In his hypothesis of "kiths" he returns to a modified view of superior and inferior stocks. His concept of "kith" is that of a group of people selected by migration from a larger stock which has a common culture and has persisted in a high degree of inter-marriage so that the original qualities selected by migration persist to a high degree among their descendants. His chief examples of "kiths" are the nomads of Arabia. the Parsis of Judea, the Icelanders, the New England Puritans, the Jews, the Quakers, and the Mongols. He believes that these stocks show important behavior traits, different from other stocks in the same vicinity, which cannot be explained by cultural inheritance. The evidence presented, however, to show that it is biological inheritance rather than cultural inheritance that is responsible for the traits of "kiths" is not impressive. Nor is there presented any adequate evidence as to what biological traits were originally selected by the migration. Elsewhere, as on pages 231, 286, 313, and 389, the author appears to revert to a theory of peculiar innate racial qualities more widely possessed than are those which are peculiar to a kith.

Two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the effects of the physical environment on human

activity, including a theory of the relation of climatic cycles to cycles in human affairs. As in his earlier volumes, Professor Huntington adheres to a belief in the direct effects of climate on human behavior. Thus, "Homicide shows a significant relation to temperature; . . . warm weather apparently is associated with lowered self-control," p. 232); "We have seen that it (cyclonic climate) apparently has much to do with American traits, such as excessive eagerness for action without due planning, boisterousness among children, and the prevalence of degenerative diseases among older people" (p. 383) "the religions of low latitudes tend to emphasize the gratification of the senses whereas those of higher latitudes emphasize moral and spiritual gratifications," (p. 291); "The stimulating cyclonic climate, unique in Asia, is one of the basic reasons why the Japanese proved so stalwart in World War II," (p. 389).

The last seven chapters are devoted to a hypothesis of the relation between cycles in human affairs such as business fluctuations, stock market cycles, the price of wheat, production of pig iron, the rise and fall of cultures, and climatic cycles. These latter include periodic variations in rainfall, in temperature, in the amount of electric energy thrown off by the sun and in the amount of ozone in the air. The author regards these hypotheses as the most original part of the volume. They involve an effort to trace both the indirect and the direct effects of climatic influences on human behavior over centuries of time as well as over intervals of a few

There are frequent statements to the effect that we must recognize that there are three factors always operating in human affairs; the cultural, the hereditary and the physical environment. But in the entire discussion of climatic cycles in their relation to human behavior there is no recognition of the possibilities that such phenomena as the rise and fall of prices or the prosperity of nations might be due to cultural causes instead.

There appears to be little in this volume of value to the social scientist. It represents an effort to formulate rather sweeping hypotheses concerning the relation of biological and climatic forces to human behavior. While purporting to take a middle ground between the protagonists of biological and physical determinism on the one hand and the anthropologists and sociologists on the other, the net impression left on the reader is one of the great significance of hereditary factors and of climatic influence on human behavior.

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Histor told, con replace t stricture a utopia In fairness to the author it should be stated that he recognizes that his hypotheses need much careful testing and that even if found basically sound they will eventually have to be greatly modified.

CECIL C. NORTH

Ohio State University

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Christianity and the Cultural Crisis. By CHARLES D. KEAN. New York: Association Press, 1945. 211 pp. \$2.00.

Here is another book which presents the disjunctions of modern industrialized society as a major crisis in culture. Written by a member of the Protestant Episcopal clergy who has also been a professor of philosophy and history, it delineates in broad strokes a moralist's view. Few intellectuals would disagree with the argument that ours is a culture in which economic values have achieved primacy; that most presentday Christians and their churches have, to a considerable degree, accommodated themselves to these mundane values; that these values are inadequate, inhumane and un-Christian; that the Christian churches need to decide who is their master. In a world where natural resources are inequitably divided, technology and the profit motive, while not the only causes of modern war, are fundamental factors in the cultural dislocation of the times. War is a symptom of this dislocation.

The book is addressed to non-professional readers. It sketches the development of a few major political doctrines which have produced the notion of Economic Man: mercantilist, physiocratic and classical, Mr. Kean preferred to lay stress on what he terms the Harrington-Locke thesis rather than on Adam Smith. The multiple effects of the Industrial Revolution are indicated, though the rise of urbanism seems to be insufficiently stressed. The author then insists that industrial capitalism is unable within itself to distribute the wealth it can produce so as to provide a good life for all of the people who take part in the productive process. Specifically the inability to provide full employment is the cultural crisis, though this is not made clear in the early part of the book. Marxism, like capitalism, holds to the same basically inadequate concept of economic man, and thus it is equally impotent for the task of building a social order which is genuinely humane.

Historic Christianity, the reader is repeatedly told, contains the insights which are needed to replace the limited outlook of our economically strictured society. Christianity does not provide a utopia nor the techniques required for social reconstruction, but it does offer the needed insights. What these insights are is unfortunately not elaborated.

At the top of each left-hand page are the words: Crisis in American Culture, suggesting that the title may have been changed during the publication process. The earlier title would seem preferable, though the author makes it plain that the cultural crisis is not limited to this country. If the book reaches and impresses enough clergymen of liberal mind and incisive speech it should stimulate a more prophetic note in preaching.

The book contains references to historians, economists, political scientists, social philosophers and publicists, most of them contemporary: Beard, Nevins, Veblen, W. C. Mitchell, Stuart Chase, Laski, Sir William Beveridge, Drucker, Ortega y Gasset, Ware and Means. But there seem to be no citations to Tawney, Weber, Lynd or Sorokin. Less theological than Professor Trueblood's The Predicament of Modern Man. Mr. Kean's book takes its place in the literature of protest against the secularization of western culture and the loss of its religious and ethical values. The book is well constructed but too wordy. Its index is inadequate.

J. HOWELL ATWOOD

Knox College

Native Peoples of the Facific World. By Felix M. Keesing. New York: Macmillan, 1945. 144 pp. \$3.00.

The tropical islands of the Pacific stretch nearly half way around the globe and include a vast variety of peoples and cultures. Professor Keesing's volume was prepared originally as a manual for American troops but it has permanent value for government officials, business men or others interested in the Pacific. The book outlines the geography, peoples and languages of the islands and then describes the government, livelihood, home conditions, social customs and religion of the people.

The author interprets in simple language the approach of modern social anthropology. He shows the need to understand the people as human beings and to see their culture as a reasonable adjustment to their environment. Practical suggestions are included regarding personal relations, the avoidance of taboos and utilizing local resources. The text is supplemented by 68 excellent photographs.

The author does a splendid job within the limits of his assignment. One may question, though, the wisdom of trying to cover so diverse an area in one short book. Inevitably there

is great condensation and some confusion as the discussion shifts rapidly from area to area. Somewhat greater attention is given to the more primitive peoples of Oceania than to the advanced cultures of Java and the Philippines. Detailed information on Malaysia, however, is available in the recent publications of Raymond Kennedy, Bruno Lasker and Fay-Cooper Cole. Some of the War Background Studies of the Smithsonian Institution cover other island groups, but no other book briefly surveys the entire area of the tropical Pacific.

PAUL FREDERICK CRESSEY

Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts

Backgrounds of Conflict: Ideas and Forms in World Politics. By Kurt London. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. 487 pp. \$3.75.

The book is divided into four parts. The first part is entitled "The Enemies of Democracy" and is in three sections dealing respectively with Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Feudal and Imperial Japan. Each of these countries is covered in very much the same manner. There is a chapter giving the historical background. Then there is a description of the philosophy and doctrine, followed by an account of organization and economy of each nation described; and finally there is an explanation of the educational and propaganda system. Part two of the book deals with the Soviet Union in much the same manner, as does part three which treats of Vichy France. Part four is called "The Evolution of Democracy." It has two sections-the first dealing with Great Britain; and the second, with the United States. The scheme of presentation remains essentially the same throughout.

The book contains no information not readily accessible in many other volumes. For the most part its contents are known to any well-educated person who has followed the history of the past two decades. But Backgrounds of Conflict is the only text known to the reviewer which attempts to cover both the governmental machinery and the political philosophy as well as the recent diplomatic history of the most powerful modern nations. The traditional texts take up these matters separately. The author is to be congratulated on his courage in attempting this innovation.

However, compressing so much governmental machinery, political philosophy and current history into one volume makes sketchy treatment of many important matters inevitable. The author seems to be aware of this and to some extent makes up for it by very ample bibliographical references. So far as the treatment of European countries is concerned, this book is inferior to Shotwell's Governments of Continental Europe which, however, does not treat Japan. Although the book is too closely angled to the Second World War, which it treats as still in progress, its usefulness should continue even though the war has ended. It is probable that some of the author's conclusions and proposals would be altered by the intrusion of the atomic bomb into world politics. The writing of this book antedates the military use of the bomb.

For sociologists the main interest in the volume is probably the way it makes clear the institutional complex of functioning systems. There is a very lucid delineation of the interdependence of political, economic, educational, religious and other groups in the countries described and the relationship between them and the rest of the world. The book is well written. It reads easily, if not entertainingly, and may be commended as a useful handbook for the topics it covers.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

Bard College

Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America, and Germany. By Charles P. Loomis. East Lansing, Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945. 392 pp., 124 maps, charts and illustrations. No price indicated.

During the past ten years, Charles P. Loomis, now at Michigan State College, has produced a varied and voluminous body of research materials in rural sociology while employed by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the United States Department of Agriculture. This book is a reprint of practically every article, bulletin, or mimeographed research report which Loomis has written or helped to write during the first ten years of his professional career.

In general the subject matter of this book is the field of rural social organization. However, the more important contributions fall into the following fields: Colonization and resettlement, levels and standards of living, rural community organization, cultural factors particularly in agricultural extension work, and the social psychology of rural life. The locale of the studies ranges from North Carolina to Germany, to South America, to New Mexico, to the minds

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s. l, These bulletins and articles have been reproduced in one volume because many of the originals were out of print and because of the convenience of having the research reports of one author readily available, particularly for students. The endeavor is certainly worth while. Every major library and every sociologist should have a copy readily available.

Although it is not possible to evaluate every contribution which this volume represents, several generalizations may be made: (1) Although Loomis has, as an employee of the government, been assigned many different research tasks, some of them guite superficial and transitory, he has consistently used and applied the best sociological theory and method. He has also experimented successfully with some of the more questionable techniques of sociometry. (2) If these articles and bulletins lack uniformity of method and subject matter, it is probably due not so much to the influence of a government job as to graduate training under such diverse personalities as Pitirim Sorokin, Carle Zimmerman and Carl Taylor. (3) Most of all, these studies reveal the mind of an industrious, honest sociologist trying to apply the scientific method to social phenomena, not just for the fun of it, but in service to his fellowman.

Perhaps the results of these efforts will appear small when put alongside everything else in the field, but it must be recognized that sociology will never mature into a full fledged science until we have many more scholars, such as Loomis, applying the best methods that we know to the study of human society.

Finally, it may be observed that Loomis was one of the first of the younger generation of rural sociologists to swing away from the reformer complex which motivated much of our earlier rural sociology. Loomis is certainly no crusader, but his writings still reflect a wholesome interest in practical human affairs.

C. HORACE HAMILTON

North Carolina State College

Time for Planning. By Lewis L. Lorwin. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. 273 pp. \$3.00.

This book describes and analyzes a number of the various concepts of planning as devices of social and economic action. "It aims to point the way in which man in the twentieth century may live in peace and in productive work, and renew his faith in his capacity to realize the ever-living ideals of a fuller life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The seventeen chapters are grouped around these topics, which as stated describe the content with reasonable accuracy: Varieties of Planning, Planning and the Democratic State, Planning in the United States, Labor and Planning, and Planning for World Reconstruction. There is a prologue naming the twentieth century the Plan Age. There is a final chapter of cautious but imaginative prophecy of the growth and future fruits of planning on a world scale.

Because much of this material was presented elsewhere by the author during the 1930's one reading them now is likely to discount their originality as of today. Chapters IX, X, and XI which discuss planning n the United States are the best in the collection in this reviewer's judgment. These chapters identify and trace the origins and evolution of "the planning idea" as part of the American tradition. They provide a valuable perspective for current understanding and appraisal of the meaning and purpose of planning as a process for social and economic progress. Here Lorwin cites the struggle for American independence, the forging of the Constitution. Woodrow Wilson's "new freedom," the growth of scientific management during and after World War I, the emergence of the New Deal from the doubts and frustrations of the Twenties, and the post-war planning movement during World War II as indices of the growth and the promise of man's ability to plan for more freedom and for plenty.

The book as a whole should serve a very useful purpose. Most of the chapters were written as separate papers and in a sequence (during the period of 1930-1944), different from the arrangement in which they now appear. They were thus contemporaneous with many of the events which provoked or neutralized planning and the ebb and flow of public debate of the nature, place, function, and wisdom of planning as a method of combating the depression, preserving the peace, and preparing for the war and its aftermath. Lorwin was more than an observer of these events. He was counseling, advising, and assisting in the groups which saw in the New Deal and the National Resources Planning Board the beginnings of an applied social science method by which men could resolve the dilemma of planning for human welfare without loss of human freedom. Read in the perspective of hindsight these chapters reveal a valuable clarity, consistency, and practicality in contemporaneous observation about a subject in which clarity and

careful definition have been neglected too much.

In his final chapter, published for the first time in this book, Lorwin, like Henry Adams, attempts with commendable caution to synthesize the signs of trends and to project a general course that world events will take. He foresees "a new social synthesis built on the concept of the social man, of group co-operation, of rational collective guidance of economic activity, and of creative energy for expanding the material and spiritual life of man."

Time for Planning helps to place the changing concepts of planning in a context of history and time yet to come. There may be some who still regard planning as an invention of the Marxists or an exclusive tool of the dictators. Lorwin will remind them of their error.

GORDON R. CLAPP

Tennessee Valley Authority

The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy. By ARTHUR E. MORGAN. New York: King's Crown Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 96. Paper. \$1.60.

This volume is an effort to revive the Bellamy of the years preceding the publication of Looking Backward and Equality. The years of social and political reform from 1888 to 1897 are treated as an intrusion into an already busy life being rapidly wasted away by chronic ill health. It is Dr. Morgan's contention that Bellamy was a philosopher, and regarded himself so.

The sociologist will find the chapter, "Edward Bellamy and Nemesis," the most interesting. Bellamy early began to assay the task-not infrequent in his day-of putting a new face on what Shakespeare called the "clogging burden of a guilty soul," as well as delving into the related problem of how far an individual in a present instant may "properly bind his future selves by pledges and engagements which he has no means of knowing will meet with their approval, and which may quite possibly prove intolerable yokes to them." (p. 64) The chapter is also by far the best one in the book, presumably because it was in the field of psychological fiction that Bellamy excelled and, therefore, left behind the most copiously organized materials for critical exploration and evaluation.

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

University of Minnesota

Food for the World. Edited by THEODORE W. SCHULTZ. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 353 pp. \$3.75.

This symposium on the problems of the world's food is a striking illustration of the

present state of social science. The book is composed of twenty-three essays which constituted the Twentieth Institute of the Harris Foundation lectures at the University of Chicago. Those who planned the series conceived of each essay "as an integral and necessary part of bringing together the contribution of research in nutrition, agricultural economics, population, and international relations." Leading authorities in each of these four fields sought to focus the outstanding issues and thus lay the foundation for a new synthesis. Each essay was presented to a mixed panel of participants, whose observations are published at the close of each of the six parts of the symposium. These parts deal respectively with The Food Movement, Population, Nutrition, Food Supplies, International Relations, and Consequences. The resulting book has major values for dietitions, social planners, and social scientists. No national or international statesman concerned with social planning, and no sociologists or other social scientist interested in problems of population and social change, can afford to ignore this volume.

The symposium is a vivid illustration of the fact that social science stands on the margin between fragmentary groping and coherent operational knowledge of social problems. The data on which the contributors base their conclusions are just beginning to become trustworthy for a few decades back in a few countries. The underlying causal factors in the problems discussed are just beginning to emerge rather uncertainly into scientific knowledge. Only through such attempts as this toward co-ordinated and co-operative thinking can social science really emerge into the stage where its findings have validity for the formulation of national and world policies.

At a number of points in this book the immaturity of our present achievements becomes evident. One of these is in the sections entitled "Observations of Participants." These are about on the level of a good radio round table. Many of the commentators have important points to make, but the conversational exchange of a few sentences from each can be nothing more than stimulating. One of the greatest needs of social science is the development of a discussion technique in which for any controversial question, the existing agreements can be fully stated and acknowledged, while the basic issues are formulated in such clearly operational terms that the experimental and research procedures for deciding them become evident.

On the theoretical side, these essays bring out

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clearly the fragmentary character of our present knowledge. Those who discuss the relations between population, food, and health ignore entirely the existence of logistic trends in all these fields and the fact that these trends do not conform to the theories which the contributors to this book are taking for granted. For example, major logistic surges in the population of France, Italy, Sweden, England, Norway, Germany, Spain, Russia, Denmark, Belgium, Netherlands, the United States and Mexico began between the years 1500 and 1773. The population upsurges in these countries were well underway decades before the upsurges in crops and consumer income occurred as results of the industrial revolution. In other words, the relationship which these authorities assume between population and food do not appear to be valid. The past logistic trends of population and of expectation of life have not reacted to World War I and to the depression of the '30's, in ways which current assumptions would seem to require. The data on population presented in this book are too crude to come to grips with problems like these.

The major shortcomings of these discussions are merely the shortcomings of existing social science. This symposium carries us forward toward scientific planning. What we need to do is to move still further in the directions toward which it leads.

HORNELL HART

Duke University

Where Do People Take Their Troubles? By LEE R. Steiner. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. 265 pp. \$3.00.

Mrs. Steiner, who is a professional social worker in the medical and psychiatric fields, and a Fellow in the American Orthopsychiatric Association, spent twelve years collecting the data for this book. She investigated quack psychologists and the "schools" which train them; the principal newspaper columnists who give advice on personal problems; radio counselors; fabricated systems of vocational guidance; correspondence clubs for lonely hearts, marriage brokers, and introduction services; counseling by clergymen of the major religious groups and by the practitioners of special cults; spiritualism and trance therapy, "psycho-power," Yoga; graphologists, palmists, astrologists, numerologists, tarot, "philosophical research"; "schools" of "success" and "personality," "personality through speech," and "how to win friends and influence people."

Mrs. Steiner's methods of investigation included personal visits to the operators of these services; submitting test cases to them, some of which had already been diagnosed and treated by sound professional methods; interviewing and following up clients of the operators; making inquiries of professional persons who had observed or assisted (often with subsequent remorse) at the performances; and questioning government officials who might presumably have some responsibility for controlling these practices or at least be informed about their legal status.

The outcome is a brilliant exposé which makes fascinating reading from cover to cover, and at the same time a careful, factual study of the social processes which operate through these institutions of unscientific counseling. Mrs. Steiner worked with an assistant, Mrs. Mabelle Barrison; she recorded interviews verbatim; has carefully avoided unprovable statements and has done an excellent job of "letting the facts speak for themselves." One of the most significant types of evidence is the recorded evasions and annoyed reactions of practitioners when pressed to state their professional qualifications for the work they were doing.

Mrs. Steiner found a few sound practices; such as the work of Elsie Robinson, of "Introduction, a Service for Sociability" in Newark, New Jersey, and of trained clergymen who know the limits of their own competence. Also in her first chapter she has given the best comparative concise statement yet seen by this reviewer about the psychiatrist, psychologist, psychiatric social worker, and four types of psychoanalysts, and of certain pertinent legal definitions which determine the control or lack of control of these practices. She gives criteria for distinguishing the sound from the unsound, but she has not made it her task to describe in detail nor to evaluate the sound practices.

Early in her career Mrs. Steiner posed the question to Professor Frank Bruno: "Why doesn't someone help families who aren't poor with their personal problems?" One wishes that while describing sound psychiatry and psychology she had said a little more about professional social case work, which started with the poor but is now extending itself to other social levels, about marriage counseling, and counseling in schools and colleges. Probably most readers will warmly agree with her desire for stricter licensing and control, and for a large expansion of mental hygiene and counseling services under non-commercial auspices. But when she seems,

in the brevity and enthusiasm of her "Conclusion," to put this job largely up to "Uncle Sam," one wishes she might have put more strategic emphasis on the possible expansions of voluntary welfare agencies and of State departments of mental hygiene, with federal grants-in-aid according to the well-accepted American tradition.

JOSEPH K. FOLSOM

Vassar College

The Jehovah's Witnesses. By HERBERT HEWITT STROUP. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. 180 pp. \$2.50.

Because of the unique notoriety achieved by the Jehovah's Witnesses in Selective Service and because of increased interest in social science study of religion consequent to greater wartime concern with religion, this is a timely book. By its grant of assistance the American Council of Learned Societies has made possible a worthwhile contribution to the social anthropological study of contemporary American religion.

The approach and organization of the volume are accurately suggested by the chapter titles—History and Leaders, Organization and Finances, Literature and Workers, The Converts and Conversion, The Way of the Witness, The Witness as Believer, Attitudes and Relations.

A tour de force of meaty brevity, this latest study of the main stream of Russellism performs entertainingly and usefully several difficult missions. It is an objective and understanding study of a notorious sect. It applies the participant observer technique to flash-out a report on printed sources. It maintains an historical and functional perspective, keeping explicit analysis to a minimum. It presents an available maximum of anthropologically and sociologically relevant data on one of the country's most anachronistic sects.

Students of sects or of contemporary institutional religion are aware of the nebulous quality of most available materials. The problem successfully faced in this study is the ultimate of that found in the incommensurable figures, where reported, of the Bureau of the Census on denominational membership strength.

The aspects emphasized by Witnesses themselves and those singled out by unbelievers have been documented and put in focus. The apparent similarity of Christian Science, Unity, and latterday Russellism is demonstrated by Stroup to be more apparent than real. They are all "publishing churches," but it is true for the Witnesses alone that the first canon of beatitude is to circulate, to sell, The Printed Word. Up-to-theminute fundamentalism, with no sinful foolishness to distract from distribution and sales, exploits mass production printing, radio, sound trucks, telephone, corporate structure, and legal staff. Stroup allows the facts to point the paradox. He does not belabor the value of identifying the Persecution of the Prophets with the rebuff of "We don't want any today—good-by!"

Stroup covers by disciplined historical précis the areas capable of factual documentation, for instance denominational organization and membership routine. He relies upon the results of field work in areas incapable of documentationmembership behavior and denominational practical politics. He might have added material on occupational range of Witnesses under his observation, for in the absence of his report there appears to be no other source for such information. He does characterize Witnesses as predominantly of the underprivileged social-economic strata. He shows by his handling of his data the operation of the psychological processes of compensation to be found by the socially non-elite in drab fundamental denominationalism that answers the needs of the maladjusted, the Bible-reading misanthrope, and the ascetic by economic necessity.

The biblography is good but not exhaustive. There are minor items not included. The Witness sub-culture (for the colportage of the faithful does constitute a way of life apart) could have been further described by more material on sentiment and behavior of the surrounding larger community, which sets the limits of special practice. The study could have included the Catholic pamphlet, The Freak Religion by the Rev. Charles M. Carty ("Radio Replies" Booklet 11, St. Paul, n.d.). The January 20, 1940, issue of Propaganda Analysis has germane material, although brief. Fugitive news stories, such as those in Time and the New York Times, are pertinent-for example, the July 24, 1940, PM story on the Detroit Witness convention.

Social scientists regardless of field who take professional cognizance of religion will find this study valuable. Quite apart from the interest of the subject matter, the study achieves a quality of social science reporting that should set a standard for future work in religion.

STANLEY H. CHAPMAN

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